

December 1960

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Normative Reactions to Normlessness	<i>Howard Becker</i>
Theories of Social Change	<i>Wilbert E. Moore</i>
Functional Analysis of Change	<i>Francesca Cancian</i>
Scientific Productivity and Academic Organization	<i>Joseph Ben-David</i>
Social Mobility in China	<i>Y. C. Wang</i>
Sponsored and Contest Mobility	<i>Ralph H. Turner</i>
Class Boundaries	<i>Werner S. Landecker</i>
Social and Physical Space	<i>Arnold S. Feldman and Charles Tilly</i>
Controversy, Neutrality, and Higher Education	<i>Herbert Maccoby</i>
The Emerging Profession	<i>William J. Goode</i>
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AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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VOLUME 25 NUMBER 6

ARTICLES

Normative Reactions to Normlessness.....	HOWARD BECKER	803
A Reconsideration of Theories of Social Change.....	WILBERT E. MOORE	810
Functional Analysis of Change.....	FRANCESCA CANTIAN	818
Scientific Productivity and Academic Organization in Nineteenth Century Medicine.....	JOSEPH BEN-DAVID	828
Western Impact and Social Mobility in China.....	Y. C. WANG	843
Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System.....	RALPH H. TURNER	855
Class Boundaries.....	WERNER S. LANDECKER	868
The Interaction of Social and Physical Space.....	ARNOLD S. FELDMAN and CHARLES TILLY	877
Controversy, Neutrality, and Higher Education.....	HERBERT MACCOBY	884

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

Occupational Composition and the Urban Hierarchy.....	HAL H. WINSBOROUGH	894
Traffic Fatalities, Suicide, and Homicide.....	AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD	897

THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology, and Medicine.....	WILLIAM J. GOODE	902
Membership of the American Sociological Association, 1950-1959.....	MATILDA WHITE RILEY	914
Official Reports and Proceedings		
Proceedings of the 1960 Annual Meeting.....		926
Report of the Secretary.....		935
Report of the Executive Officer, 1950-1960.....		938
Report of the Editor of the <i>American Sociological Review</i>		939
Report of the Editor of <i>Sociometry</i>		942
Report on Bulletin Series on Fields of Application of Sociology.....		942
Report of the Committee on Publications.....		943
Report of the Membership Committee.....		943
Report of the Committee on Training and Professional Standards.....		944
Report of the Research Committee.....		944
Report of the Classification Committee.....		944
Report of the Committee on the Profession.....		945
Report of the Sub-Committee on Legislation That Certifies Psychologists.....		946

(Continued on following page)

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THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION—Cont.

Official Reports and Proceedings—cont.	
Report of the Sub-Committee on Sociology in the Federal Government.....	947
Report of the Committee on Social Statistics.....	948
Report of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics.....	948
Report of the Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries.....	949
Report of Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education.....	950
Report of the Committee to Administer the Carnegie Travel Grant.....	950
Report of the Committee to Administer the Asia Foundation Grant for Improving Relations with Asian Sociologists	951
Report of the Representative to the International Sociological Association.....	951
Report of the American Organizing Committee for the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, 1962	952
Report of the Representative to the Social Science Research Council.....	952
Report of the Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies.....	953
Report of the Representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science.....	954
Report of the Representative to the American Correctional Association.....	954
Report of the Representatives to the American Public Health Association Committee on Behavioral Sciences in Public Health.....	955
Report of the Representative to the Council of Census Users.....	956
Liaison Report to the American Sociological Association on the National Association of Social Workers	956
Report of the Representative to the National Education Association Conference on Teacher Education and Professional Standards.....	957
Report on Activities of the Section on Social Psychology.....	957
Report on Activities of the Section on Medical Sociology.....	958
Report on Activities of the Section on Methodology.....	959
News and Announcements	
Joseph Kirk Folsom, 1893-1960.....	LESLIE ALICE KOEMPEL 959
Clyde Kluckhohn, 1905-1960.....	TALCOTT PARSONS 960
Louis Burton Laughlin, 1908-1960.....	LEONARD W. MOSS 962

REVIEW ARTICLE

Values, Politics, and Sociology.....	WILLIAM L. KOLB 966
--------------------------------------	---------------------

BOOK REVIEWS

Janowitz: <i>The Professional Soldier</i> . Hans Speier.....	970
Parsons: <i>Structure and Process in Modern Societies</i> . S. D. Clark.....	971
Yang: <i>The Chinese Family in the Communist Revolution</i> . Wen-Hui C. Chen.....	972

(Articles in the REVIEW are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals and in the Weekly Bulletin of Public Affairs Information Service.)

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BOOK REVIEWS—Cont.

Durkheim: <i>Montesquieu and Rousseau</i> . Harry Alpert.....	972
Iiggers: <i>The Cult of Authority</i> . Melvin Richter.....	973
Lins: <i>Foundations of Social Determinism</i> . Gerard De Gré.....	974
Campbell: <i>The Masks of God</i> . Philip Rieff.....	975
Mukerjee: <i>The Symbolic Life of Man</i> . Charles Morris.....	976
Stein et al.: <i>Identity and Anxiety</i> . Helen Merrell Lynd.....	977
Rokeach: <i>The Open and Closed Mind</i> . Robert F. Winch.....	977
Rohrer and Edmonson: <i>The Eighth Generation</i> . S. Frank Miyamoto.....	978
Geismar and Ayres: <i>Patterns of Change in Problem Families</i> . Howard J. Parad.....	979
Weinstein: <i>The Self-Image of the Foster Child</i> . Frederick Elkin.....	980
Opler: <i>Culture and Mental Health</i> . S. Kirson Weinberg.....	980
Dunham and Weinberg: <i>The Culture of the State Mental Hospital</i> . William Caudill.....	981
Cloward et al.: <i>Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison</i> . Ralph W. England, Jr.....	982
Schubert: <i>Quantitative Analysis of Judicial Behavior</i> . Richard D. Schwartz.....	982
Bonner: <i>Group Dynamics</i> . A. Paul Hare.....	983
Stogdill: <i>Individual Behavior and Group Achievement</i> . A. Paul Hare.....	983
Hugh-Jones: <i>Human Relations and Modern Management</i> . Francis X. Sutton.....	984
Dahl et al.: <i>Social Science Research on Business</i> . Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.....	984
Hartmann: <i>Authority and Organization in German Management</i> . Kurt B. Mayer.....	985
Mann and Hoffman: <i>Automation and the Worker</i> . William A. Faunce.....	986
Zweig: <i>The Israeli Worker</i> . Edward Gross.....	987
Eggar: <i>A Punjabi Village in Pakistan</i> . David Pocock.....	987
Bracey: <i>English Rural Life</i> . J. Jean Hecht.....	988
Hobsbawm: <i>Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels</i> . Lewis A. Coser.....	988
Rogers: <i>Social Change in Rural Society</i> . Wilfrid C. Bailey.....	989
Martindale: <i>American Society</i> . Bernard Barber.....	989
Nicholls: <i>Southern Tradition and Regional Progress</i> . Harry Estill Moore.....	990
Glazer and McEntire: <i>Studies in Housing and Minority Groups</i> . Scott A. Greer.....	991
McGrath: <i>Liberal Education in the Professions</i> . Mary E. W. Goss.....	991
McGrath: <i>The Graduate School and the Decline of Liberal Education</i> . Mary E. W. Goss.....	991
Handlin: <i>The Newcomers</i> . George E. Simpson.....	992
Robbins and Terleckyj: <i>Money Metropolis</i> . Gerald Breese.....	993
Rose: <i>Indagine Sull'Integrazione Sociale In Due Quartieri Di Roma</i> . John S. McDonald.....	993

BOOK NOTES

Becker: <i>Soziologie Als Wissenschaft Vom Sozialen Handeln</i> . Svend Riemer.....	994
Bernsdorf: <i>Internationales Soziologen Lexikon</i> . H. C.....	994
Simmel: <i>Sociology of Religion</i> . Elizabeth K. Nottingham.....	994
Erikson: <i>Young Man Luther</i> . Norman Birnbaum.....	994
Biesheuvel: <i>Race, Culture and Personality</i> . C. Frantz.....	995
McAvoy: <i>Roman Catholicism and the American Way of Life</i> . Milton L. Barron.....	995
Leiffer: <i>The Role of the District Superintendent in the Methodist Church</i> . Joseph H. Fichter.....	995
Gutman: <i>Birth and Death Registration in Massachusetts 1639-1900</i> . Frank H. Hankins.....	996
Thompson et al.: <i>Comparative Studies in Administration</i> . Leighton van Nort.....	996
Bereday et al.: <i>The Changing Soviet School</i> . A. H. K.....	996
Ministry of Education: <i>15 to 18</i> . Joel B. Montague.....	997
Curti: <i>The Social Ideas of American Educators</i> . Clifford R. Bragdon.....	997
Brim: <i>Education for Child Rearing</i> . Martin B. Loeb.....	997
Barton: <i>Studying the Effects of College Education</i> . Rose K. Goldsen.....	998
Russell: <i>Liberal Education and Nursing</i> . Arnold Levine.....	998
Mays: <i>On the Threshold of Delinquency</i> . Albert K. Cohen.....	998

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

INDEX TO VOLUME 25

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

to the *American Sociological Review*

I. Preparation of Articles, Research Reports, and Book Reviews sent to Editor

Papers are evaluated by the editors and other referees and are judged without author's name or institutional identification. Therefore, contributors are asked to attach a cover page giving the title, author's name, and institutional affiliation; the manuscript should bear only the title as a means of identification. At least two, and preferably three, copies should be submitted to enable prompt evaluation, but the author should retain a copy in his own files.

An abstract of about 100-125 words should accompany articles (but not research reports); it should present the principal substantive and methodological points.

Please prepare copy as follows:

1. All copy, including indented matter, should be typed *double spaced* on white standard paper. Lines should not exceed 5-6 inches.

2. A footnote to the title, author's name, or his affiliation should be starred (*). Other footnotes should be numbered serially, typed *double spaced*, and should be listed at the end of the article or research report. Sample footnote formats are presented below.

3. Each table should be typed on a separate page. Insert a guide line, e.g., "Table I about here," at the appropriate place in the manuscript. See current issues of the *Review* for tabular style.

4. Figures should be drawn on white paper with India ink and the original tracings or drawings should be retained by the author for direct transmission to the printer. Copies should accompany the manuscript.

5. Mathematical notation should be provided both in symbols and words. Explanatory notes not intended for printing should be encircled in pencil.

6. If any symbols are used that might confuse the printer, please clarify in the margin of the manuscript.

Sample Footnote Formats

* Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, 1959.

1. Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 298.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

3. Seymour M. Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (August, 1959), pp. 482-501.

4. Bruno Bettleheim and Morris Janowitz,

Dynamics of Prejudice, New York: Harper, 1950.

5. Robert K. Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed," in Robert M. MacIver, editor, *Discrimination and National Welfare*, New York: Harper, 1949, pp. 99-126.

6. Herbert Menzel, James S. Coleman, and Elihu Katz, "Dimensions of Being 'Modern' in Medical Practice," *Journal of Chronic Diseases*, 9 (January, 1959), pp. 20-40.

7. Committee on Nomenclature and Statistics of the American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual: Mental Disorders*, Washington, D. C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1952, pp. 12-13.

II. Preparation of News and Announcements sent to Executive Office

These columns may include notices of academic appointments, promotions, resignations, visiting professorships, leaves of absence, special awards, appointments to governmental and private organizations, new training programs, and major curricular developments, special research projects and grants, special conferences and institutes, retirements, and deaths. *Do not include:* publications by department members (these will appear in "Publications Received" and many will be reviewed), appointments to graduate assistantships, the conferral of graduate degrees (which are reported annually in the *American Journal of Sociology*) or of graduate work in progress, public lectures, televised courses, papers delivered at conferences, and brochures. Notices should be *concise*. See current issues of the *Review* for editing style. It is suggested that each department assign one person the responsibility of assembling and transmitting news and announcements.

Notices of professional interest from governmental and other non-academic agencies are welcome.

Foreign sociologists planning to visit the United States who are interested in meeting American sociologists are invited to send their itineraries and other pertinent details to the Executive Office. These will be published under the heading, "Sociologists from Abroad." Please see *Time Schedule*.

The *Review* reserves the right to edit or exclude all items.

Time Schedule: To insure publication, announcements must be received no later than the beginning of the third month preceding the month of issue; for example, to be included in the October issue, material must be received by July 1.

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NORMATIVE REACTIONS TO NORMLESSNESS *

HOWARD BECKER

University of Wisconsin

Christopher Bennett Becker, of Yale University, has written the preface and the annotations for Howard Becker's Presidential address. His painstaking and scrupulous preparation of the manuscript provides both the essential substance of the address itself and a felicitous introduction in the spirit of Professor Becker's own work.

Howard Becker was deeply and persistently concerned with "the historical process;" his contributions to its analysis include studies of both ancient and modern societies, but always with a view to more realistic understanding of the present social order and of man's possibilities in shaping the future. This paper illustrates, once more, these interests. Professor Becker would have been heartened, perhaps, by the fact that his paper is one of several on social change included in this issue of the Review.—The Editor.

THE address my father delivered at Saint Louis in April was essentially a rethinking of the problem of the relation of explicit normative systems to the societies that are the social medium in which they exist. This was, in a way, the central problem of all of his original work, and that is enough to make his words important. Nevertheless, I must ask you to bear in mind that in all probability he would not have considered publishing the address as it stood in his notes, precisely because of the central importance of the topic. He would have wanted to consider thoroughly the implications of this "rethinking" for sacred-secular theory before putting it down in black and white. Let me take a few minutes to express myself more precisely.

The "normative reactions to normlessness" that are the topic of his address are part and parcel of the larger trend he called *sacralization*. *Sacralization* is a term subsuming the processes by which societies are tightened, hardened, reintegrated, restored.

A certain part of the social action involved in these processes has the preservation, maintenance, or restoration of explicit norms or of entire normative systems as its *conscious* goal. Such restoration presupposes that the subjects involved have defined the situation confronting them as already "normless," or about to become so, in relation to a set of norms which they tend to define in absolute terms as the *norms* of their society. This constitutes "the normative reaction to normlessness."

The concepts of *sacralization* and the normative reaction were formulated by Howard Becker about a dozen years ago, and they came to play a steadily larger part in his thought with each successive reworking of sacred-secular theory. In earlier years, when he was setting up the sacred-secular continuum for the first time, late in the 1920s, he had in mind the study of what he termed "processes of secularization."¹ Secularization seemed to him then to be a general term under which it might even be possible

* Presidential address read by Christopher Bennett Becker at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, 1960.

¹ Howard Becker, "Processes of Secularisation," *The Sociological Review*, 24 (April-July and October, 1932), pp. 138-154, 266-286.

to subsume what he then confidently spoke of as "the total historical process."² While admitting the analytical possibility of beginning with the accessible secular society and moving toward the isolated sacred society, he found immediate use only for the sacred-through-secular cycle, feeling then that this was the tool likely to prove indispensable to the student of the historical record.³ The sacred was important largely as a point of departure; it was the starting-point of secularization.

This search for a single overriding trend in human affairs was part of the legacy left to the social scientists of the first quarter of the twentieth century by the social philosophers of the nineteenth. Thus it was that the thinkers who parted company with the self-appointed priests of secular progress did not at first venture far beyond the familiar horizons of the philosophy of history. The belief in secular progress was reformulated more acceptably as the study of the progress of the secular.⁴ It seemed to Howard Becker, in the 1930s, that Weber's work, and his own, along these lines, stood in the service of "a nonuniversal, nontranscendent, nonrelative theory of the total historical process."⁵ Figuratively speaking, the sociologist could embrace the muse of History with one arm, and ward off with the other her teleologically-minded parents.

And yet one of the dogmas of progress lay concealed within this very effort: I speak of the commitment to a belief in "the total historical process." This belief was more than likely to lead to a search for a single overriding trend in history, while the single-minded rejection of all older teleologies made it very hard to explain direction in history except through a kind of negative environmentalism, by the postulation of a series of negative tropisms. I think my

² "Prospects of Social Change as Viewed by Historian and Sociologist," first published in 1940, reprinted as Chapter 3 in Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretations*, Durham: Duke, 1950, p. 164.

³ "Processes of Secularisation," *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁴ See the list of theorists of such "total transition" in *ibid.*, section 4, for an idea of the pervasiveness of this belief in the first quarter of the century.

⁵ "Prospects of Social Change . . .," *loc. cit.*

father might have agreed that his very earliest formulations of the sacred-secular continuum, with their almost exclusive stress on processes of *secularization*, merit this criticism.⁶ In fact, I am inclined to regard his increasing interest in processes of *sacralization*, and in "normative reactions to normlessness," as his attempt to realize the full range of possibilities offered by the sacred-secular schema. Fortunately, he had set up the schema with the logic and precision that were second nature to him, and which were amplified by his studies with Leopold von Wiese. His clear awareness of the movement from sacred to secular as only one of the analytical possibilities offered by the schema made it feasible to introduce the concept of *sacralization* without in any way invalidating his analyses of *secularization*.⁷

Here the impulse towards a broader view came from history itself. If the theorists of Wilhelmian and Weimar Germany showed him only one side of "the historical process," his own observation of the Germany of the thirties showed him the other. I have just spoken of his logic and precision; here let me add that his logic never left the service of precision. When new facts pressed upon him, he "tooled up" his workshop to be able to handle them. The success of Nazism showed him that the movement from sacred to secular could be reversed, and Howard Becker now became aware of the historical importance of "reactionary radicalism," of "sacredness by prescription," of

⁶ For instance, the heavy reliance, in "Processes of Secularisation," *op. cit.* (1932), on the end of "new experience," on "the tendency to respond more and more readily to new stimuli," and the stress on the secular as the "photographic negative" of the sacred.

⁷ In like manner, a theorist who wished to remain within the framework of Weber's thought while perhaps insisting less on "disenchantment" and "rationalization" as overriding trends could easily do so by developing more fully the application of the concept of "communal action" *Vergemeinschaftung*, and more particularly the idea of "übergreifende Vergemeinschaftung," to match the detailed treatment of "societal action" (*Ver-gesellschaftung*) throughout Weber's work. Cf. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 4th edition, II, 2 pars. 1-3 (pp. 199-207); III, 4, pars. 2-3 (pp. 631-640), the latter translated in H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber*, New York: Oxford Galaxy, 1958, pp. 181-184.

the *prescriptive* society;⁸ he came to see that societies of this type, though they come into being most often as the result of "societal continuity long enough to permit the rise of prescription out of tradition," could also arise from "the threat of societal discontinuity issuing from crises of various kinds,"⁹ as Hitler's totalitarian society rose out of the "tumult of the 'Twenties."¹⁰

This was the context of thought in which the concept of "the normative reaction to normlessness" took shape. Normlessness was originally used by my father as a translation of Durkheim's *anomie*,¹¹ and was then adopted as a term for the state of discontinuity and unpredictability of conduct found in "pronormless" societies, those that have approached the secular extreme of the continuum. But as he probed deeper into the stuff of history, and as he came to insist less on identifying the "total process of history" with a fixed and irreversible order of movement along the sacred-secular continuum,¹² he found it necessary to *generalize* the "normative reaction." In his words, "the 'normative reaction to normlessness' occurs not only when secularization reaches . . . extremes, but also, for instance, when one rigidly prescribed sacred sub-society clashes with another, or when one of prin-

ciples-secular variety too brusquely invades folk or prescribed bailiwicks."¹³

And his final position was that the normative reaction, as a *reaction*, is found wherever the subject defines the situation of action, the societal context, as "normless," and attempts to restructure it in accord with explicit normative patterns. The observer, then, cannot limit this reaction to the point on *his* scale which he designates as approaching "real" normlessness. The term loses the objectivist overtones of Durkheim's *anomie*. "Normative reactions to normlessness"—note the switch to the plural without article—normative reactions were now perceived to be an important aspect of sacralization, and sacralization, in turn, was perceived to be separable from secularization *only* for analytical purposes.¹⁴ This is an important point, and one which deserves fuller treatment; but I think that I have now said enough about the overall trend of my father's thought within the sacred-secular framework to set his views on "Normative Reactions To Normlessness" in perspective, and I shall now proceed to read them to you.

A final word on the form and content of the paper seems in order. The outline of the address, and about three-quarters of the text, are taken over as they stand in Howard Becker's notes. Where the notes are sketchy, I have resorted to piecing; about half of the pieces are taken *verbatim* from other of his recent writings on the subject, and the rest I have tried to complete in what I hope is the spirit that moved the whole.¹⁵

⁸ "Reactionary radicalism" first used in Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, Boston: Heath, 1938, in the treatment of Plato (pp. 124 and 314 of 2nd edition), arising out of the treatment in Howard Becker's dissertation on secularization and the Greek mind. "Prescription" first treated in "Values as Tools of Sociological Analysis." *Through Values to Social Interpretations*, Chapter 1; cf. p. 46, note 50.

⁹ Howard Becker, *Man in Reciprocity*, New York: Praeger, 1956; section "The Rise and Course of Prescription," pp. 159-162, based on pp. 63-66 of *Through Values*. . . .

¹⁰ Howard Becker, *German Youth: Bond or Free*, London: Kegan Paul, 1946; Chapter 6. This study of the German youth movement was largely responsible for the refinement in the treatment of sacred societies.

¹¹ Cf. Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change*, New York: Dryden, 1957, Chapter 6, p. 173, note 63.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 176: "Shifts from one societal type to another were also discussed, but not in order to demonstrate evolutionary or even developmental sequence; skipping and reversal is not only possible but also frequently evident."

¹³ *Man in Reciprocity*, p. 189.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183: "The most that can be said of any society is that it is highly secularized or is secularizing rapidly, for sacred residues always remain or are regenerated in some form."

"Secularization, in other words, goes on in all societies—more rapidly, of course, when there is a great deal of affective nonrationality. But *sacralization also goes on in all societies*; what was once novel, and even heretical, eventually becomes traditional, and hard on the heels of tradition, in many cases, follows *prescription*. Loose societies thus become tight."

¹⁵ All additions of consequence are bracketed, and subsequent footnotes indicate the source of all major additions. No theoretical points offered in the notes have been omitted.

In the following presentation, "normative" and "normlessness" are used as terms referring to certain aspects of culture. [The term "culture," in turn, is used in the broadly anthropological sense common since the seventeenth century, meaning human industry as it is manifested in its products.]¹⁶

The term "normative," in the present context, refers not only to the fact that at the developed human level *all* conduct is oriented toward norms in some respects, but also to the fact that on occasion there may be *explicit* adherence to norms that are viewed as worthy of such adherence. (It might be well to distinguish between these two senses of "normative" by speaking of "norm-upholding," "norm-promulgating," or the like, to designate explicit adherence to norms. [In the present context, however, the coupling with the word "reactions" should make it clear that the reference is indeed to such explicitly normative conduct.])

"Normlessness," in the present context, must be taken as a *relative* term for the sociologist, inasmuch as, from his standpoint, no conduct, as long as it remains determinably human, can be *wholly* devoid of normative orientation. By given subjects, however, certain kinds of conduct may be regarded as having no normative orientation whatsoever; such subjects, therefore, may take "normlessness" in an *absolute* sense.

Evidence bearing on this absolute conception may be found among many peoples and many smaller groups and classes. Those persons who do not follow the norms viewed as *worthy* are often viewed as "animal-like," "not human," and so on. Indeed, terms such as swine, dogs, beasts, lice, snakes, and the like, may be freely used.

It must of course be granted that in some instances the non-observer of the worthy norms is recognized as explicitly adhering to a set of counter-norms, so to speak. The counter-norms are then given an absolute quality as wholly *unworthy*; they are evil incarnate, as it were, and such evil is regarded as non-human. Where this absolute level is reached, the supernatural beings who

are credited with being "evil incarnate" are often represented as having tails, cloven hooves, horns, and other animal attributes that mark them as non-human. [The belief in the absolute evil of these counter-norms thus merely serves to confirm the fact that the subjects conceive of the worthy normative structure as absolute.]

We may, then, tentatively define normative "reactions" as efforts to adhere to worthy norms in the face of what is viewed as actual or potential normlessness.

[Thus far we have spoken of the normative reaction in terms of "given subjects" whose position in society has been left undefined. It would seem well at this point to reserve the right to distinguish, in certain cases, between the extremists or "zealots" who are willing to sacrifice all else to preserve the doctrinal and operational purity of a given normative system, and the "mundane majority" who are interested in having such an order imposed or reimposed upon society at large, chiefly in order to assure enough societal continuity to permit their own attainment of mundane ends not unduly remote. It may be remembered that a similar distinction is at the bottom of the typology of religious organization in which the cult, the sect, the denomination, and the ecclesia are placed on a continuum of adjustment to the needs of "mundane" society.¹⁷

Continuing in the present vein:] Orientation toward worthy norms is sometimes regarded by the subjects concerned as for the sake of the norms, and for that only. Any assertion that the norms are held worthy because they lead toward desirable ends not explicitly incorporated in the verbal formulations of the norms as worthy, is flatly rejected. "Virtue is its own reward;" "Do good, for good is good to do!" Nevertheless, many subjects implicitly and on occasion explicitly hold that adherence to worthy norms aids in or even guarantees attainment of ends, goals, or objectives essential for "the

¹⁶ Howard Becker, "Sociology and Anthropology," in J. Gillin, editor, *For a Science of Social Man*, New York: Macmillan, 1954, pp. 115-128. See also Becker and Boskoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-143.

¹⁷ Wiese-Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, Gary: Norman Paul, 1950 (first edition 1932), pp. 624-642; last full treatment in *Man in Reciprocity*, Chapters 23-24. This addition to Howard Becker's notes is designed to make clear his distinction between the "zealots" and the "majority," which appears throughout the rest of the paper.

good life" here or hereafter. *Ideally* these ends are to be viewed as "unearned increments," but the saints and sages able to hold to such a view are few and far between. Most adherents of worthy norms view the attainment of any "good life" end as an "earned increment." What is more, this earned increment is often defined in mundane terms: "He shall sit under his vine and his fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid." The mundane thus looms larger than the spiritual, however the latter may be construed.

Indeed, the more or less immediately attainable mundane obscures visions of the mundane that can be reached only after a long lapse of time; present benefits are preferred to rewards so remote that only generations far removed can reap them. Those willing to suffer severe deprivation for the sake of great-great great grandchildren can be found, true enough, but they rarely constitute the majority of any on-going society.

It is true that deprivation may, under some circumstances, be suffered by a majority, but in such cases the majority is likely to be under the control of a minority of zealots. "The classless society," for example, may be proclaimed as worthy of major sacrifice, and those who are to make such sacrifice in the here and now will then be graciously "permitted to volunteer." [But even so, the "building of the perfect socialist society" is broken down into "five-year plans" and the like, in order to furnish the mundane majority with more visibly attainable goals.]

In the light of the foregoing, it is perhaps safe to say that those hoping to attain mundane ends not unduly remote represent the majority of any society, whether or not this majority is in effective control of broad societal policy. The ends, as classifiable by the outside observer, can be reduced to four, the familiar categories of response, recognition, security, and new experience.¹⁸ The

¹⁸ Howard Becker's note: "Note that Thomas's practice of classifying these as 'wishes' is *not* here adopted. Instead, Znaniecki's practice (followed by him from at least 1925 onward) of referring to them as 'tendencies' toward the attainment of response, recognition, security, and new experience—which says nothing about the individual *genesis* of such tendencies—is expressly followed."

pursuit of ends thus classifiable is empirically ascertainable, regardless of the motivations, determinable only through personality-system analysis, of those pursuing such ends.

This classification is purely one of convenience. A smaller number may result in distortion of the empirical evidence, or in undue stretching of meaning. A larger number might result in mere cataloging of relatively concrete referents, with only arbitrary limits. Occam's razor must be used, but without either shaving off flesh or leaving miscellaneous whiskers.

A tentative outcome of the considerations thus far advanced can be stated thus:

When, in a given society or appropriate part thereof, normlessness is viewed by adherents of the normative system held to be worthy as of wide scope, and therefore as endangering the continuance of the worthy normative system, an effort to extirpate such normlessness is likely to be made.

"Endangering the continuance of the worthy normative system" means, again in the light of the foregoing, that many adherents of the worthy normative system feel that their attainment, in mundane terms, of response, recognition, security, and new experience, is rendered less likely, or may even be thwarted altogether. *Ergo*, action against normlessness must be taken; otherwise put, "the normative reaction to normlessness."

This reaction, as initially viewed by the outside observer, may appear to be archaic, or it may appear to be futuristic, [using these terms in the sense given them by Toynbee.¹⁹] On closer examination, however, it often becomes evident that given reactions are neither purely archaic nor purely futuristic, even though the subjects concerned may so define them. Nazism, by many subjects viewed as an archaic reaction against the normlessness of Germany

¹⁹ The use of Toynbee's terminology indicates that Howard Becker regarded Toynbee's treatment of "schism in the soul" and "disintegration" as pertinent to the "normative reaction." For the former's development of "archaism" and "futurism," see Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, London: Oxford, 1939, Vol. 6, pp. 49-132. For Becker's appraisal of the first six volumes, see the chapter on "Prospects of Social Change," in *Through Values . . .*, pp. 149-154.

after World War I,²⁰ and defined by these subjects as a return to *Deutschheit* ("essential Germanness"), had of course many futuristic components, such as the coming of the millennial kingdom and the conquest of the world, as promised in the song:

Today we hold the Fatherland,
Tomorrow the world is ours.

Communism, for many subjects a reaction against the normlessness of the late Tsarist regime, and held by them to be futuristic, has many archaic components, some of them quite basic Marxist beliefs, as for example the *return* of an originally classless society, although at a "higher level on the spiral of progress."

Note, however, that although the outside observer may regard archaism-futurism as always combined, though now with more archaism, now with more futurism, the orientation of many of the more zealous subjects is, from their own standpoint, purely archaic or purely futuristic. Indeed, ruthlessness in wiping out those held responsible for normlessness may be in direct proportion to the strength of belief in the archaic or futuristic purity of those doing the wiping out.

Having tried to say, in some detail, what is meant by "normative reactions to normlessness," it may be well now to consider some of the ways, more concretely speaking, in which subjects adhering to what they hold to be the worthy norms come to view other persons physically "within" their society as basically normless. [Lying at the root of the problem is the sober fact that some degree of discontinuity is empirically manifest in all known societies.²¹ This dis-

continuity may manifest itself in many ways: for example, as a gap between generations, as internal conflict between separate normative systems within a single inclusive society, or as the intrusion of a new or alien "innovation." Obviously these forms of discontinuity may coincide in any given case, but let us analyze them in turn.]

First of all, there is always, in all societies, some "cultural loss through lapse." Socialization is never complete in the sense of full transmission of every aspect of the previously prevailing culture. The history of words, their forms and their etymologies, abounds with illustrations of this truth. [In the present context, cultural lapse is manifested in] the attrition to which worthy normative systems are invariably subject. [This easily observable truth is bound to cause concern among those adhering zealously to a given normative system.] The world is always going to the dogs; to change the figure, "the pearl of great price," the epitome of virtue, is always being ground away by those to whom it has been transmitted and who should preserve its luster undimmed. This supposedly *wilful* grinding away by the oncoming generation may be viewed as the result either of the native iniquity, the "corruption from within," of those responsible, or as the result of their succumbing, through "corruption from without," to temptation stemming from the normlessness of the utterly alien [or non-human] with whom they have somehow come in contact.

[Next come the ways in which internal conflict may produce societal discontinuity. As previously stated, the worthy normative system may either deliberately exclude certain norms nevertheless adhered to by a part of the inclusive society; or it may suddenly find itself confronted with norms defined as "innovations."]

The former is particularly likely to be the case where the normative system is of sectarian origin. Disregard for the needs of "mundane" society, pushed to the extreme in the belief that the world is about to end, is likely to leave its mark on the normative systems formulated by the zealots of a sect. If this sect nevertheless wins a wide following among the mundane majority of the inclusive society, we are likely to witness the

²⁰ Howard Becker's note: "See the writer's *German Youth: Bond or Free*, Chapter 6, 'Tumult of the 'Twenties.'" (Cf. note 10 above.)

²¹ Cf. *Man in Reciprocity*, pp. 189-190, especially the following: "The often-evidenced plurality of value-systems within an inclusive society is obviously a fact of major practical significance, but it also has crucial theoretical bearing. . . . Park, Hughes, and your humble servant . . . have always assumed . . . that any given society that is empirically manifested may be found, on examination, to embody several different and even discrepant value-systems. Everything that we know about social stratification, for example, bears witness to this." See also Becker and Boskoff, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

phenomenon elsewhere dealt with as "the ageing of the sect."²² The mundane majority, while accepting the sectarian definition of those excluded from the sect as normless, may find that their attainment of other ends in mundane terms is thwarted if, for instance, their own children are among those excluded. Such parental affection will then be defined as excessive, by strict sectarian standards; but that does not mean that it is likely to disappear.

The foregoing analysis is borne out in detail by the history of the Calvinist churches in New England. Initially their requirements for membership were very rigid indeed. As time wore on, however, the sectarian spirit began to lose out in the struggle with everyday life and parental affection. Finally it was decided that members could be admitted provisionally on less stringent terms, and the "Half-Way Covenant" was initiated. In other words, children or other persons whose calling and election was not sure, and who might turn out to be among the normless reprobates, were nevertheless taken within the church. Eventually, in some of the New England churches, well over three-quarters of the members had gone only as far as the Half-Way Covenant, and hence were not among that very small group of whose election and ultimate salvation one could be absolutely certain.

Here the unhallowed, unholy, "normless" state of a large part of society, which doubtless afforded a certain perverse gratification to the true sectarians, was taken by the mundane majority to threaten its attainment, in mundane terms, of ends easily classifiable under the headings of response, recognition, and security. The result was a normative reaction to this normlessness, a reaction which had the effect of tightening, of sacralizing society as a whole, although the tightness of the worthy normative system had been somewhat impaired in the process. We might mix two Scriptural metaphors, and say that, while the lump of so-

ciety had been leavened, the salt of sectarianism had lost some of its savor.

This particular normative reaction was conceived as a response to a threat of discontinuity that had features of a gap between generations, but also of internal conflict. This is equally true in the case of our other pattern of internal conflict, of conflict caused by cultural innovation.] Just as surely as there is always cultural loss through lapse, there is always, in all societies or parts thereof, some cultural innovation, deriving from independent origin or from diffusion. Such innovation may affect either material or nonmaterial culture—[or let us rather use Woodard's more convenient terminology, and say that the culture affected may be] of expressive, technical, or controlling variety.²³ Some of the new culture traits do not come into direct conflict with the normative system held worthy, but many do. Those who "take up with the new-fangled contraptions, doings, and notions" are, at the very least, unable, in terms of sheer time and energy, to absorb the worthy normative system fully, much less to effect appropriate adjustments to the conflicts that the innovations involve. This results in accusations of normlessness, and the normative reaction.

I am aware that the particular "normative reactions to normlessness" to which I have pointed are among the more extreme manifestations of the type. I have done this designedly, simply for the purpose of maximum clarity. These manifestations are empirically in evidence, of course; I make bold to say that as a sociological theorist I have little interest in fictions of any sort, regardless of the symbolism used to disguise them. Many things are logically *possible* that, viewing the available evidence without resort to manipulative ingenuity, are not empirically probable. We are not at liberty to build "models" of Airedales with cast-iron stomachs and swivel-caster feet. There is no substitute for remaining in close touch with the empirical evidence, with "the damned facts."

[In the study of "normative reactions to

²² *Man in Reciprocity*, pp. 346-348, where the "Half-Way Covenant" is dealt with. Howard Becker's notes carry a reference to the Covenant at this point, and I have somewhat altered the scope and the order of his presentation here in order to make full use of the treatment offered in *Man in Reciprocity*.

²³ James W. Woodard, "A New Classification of Culture and a Restatement of the Culture-Lag Theory," *American Sociological Review*, 1 (February, 1936), pp. 89-102.

normlessness," as here defined, the views of the subjects involved constitute perhaps a larger part of the "damned facts" than in many areas of possible sociological investigation. Add to this the fact that these particular views, to most of us, are unattractive, and it becomes obvious why normative reactions have not received the attention they deserve from the social scientist.²⁴ So-called reactionary social movements have been described and analyzed at length, to be sure, but primarily by persons hotly biased against them. The sociological light resulting therefrom has been fitful and feeble; it has been of scant service even to those working for sweeping change and yet wishing to avoid counterchanges that might nullify

²⁴ What follows, within the brackets, is added *verbatim* from *Man in Reciprocity*, p. 189.

their best efforts. What we now need is sustained and dispassionate study, predictively oriented, of what is likely to happen next in societies undergoing rapid secularization of whatever kind. Then the study of "desegregation," to choose an obvious example, can be conducted with some sort of grand strategy in mind; otherwise, nothing but day-to-day tactics, often self-defeating, will be used.

But these considerations carry us far outside the immediate frame of reference, to say nothing of present limits of time.] In conclusion, then, it must be remarked that no assertions about what is "really" normless, and what is not, have here been made. Time-worn truisms may still be true: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

A RECONSIDERATION OF THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE *

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The apologetic attitude of sociologists on the subject of social change is unwarranted. Both empirical generalizations and theoretical derivations are available. For theoretical derivation, however, various modifications are necessary in the usual models of society employed by functionalists. Such modifications permit the identification of the sources of change in all societies. Various non-social causes and social determinisms have been rejected but other dynamic factors remain. These include both flexibilities and strains inherent in the structure of societies. It is suggested that a "pure" theory of social change, independent of substantive identification of the patterns undergoing transformation, would be uninteresting. Rather, social change can be integrated with standard theory around the very structural topics already in use.

THE mention of "theory of social change" will make most social scientists appear defensive, furtive, guilt-ridden, or frightened. Yet the source of this unease may be in part an unduly awe-stricken regard for the explicitly singular and im-

plicity capitalized word "Theory." The several social scientific disciplines, and notably economics and sociology, do provide some fairly high-level, empirically-based, and interdependent propositions concerning social change.

The present paper presents some suggested conceptual organization of the problem, and some illustrations of interrelated propositions. The exposition is taxonomic and programmatic rather than discursive. Many of the alleged propositions are hypothetical, but any resemblance between them and real data, living or dead, would be comforting.

* Sections of this paper were read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, March, 1960. Preliminary versions of the paper were discussed by two *ad hoc* committees of the Social Science Research Council. An earlier draft was extensively criticized by Professor Arnold S. Feldman of the University of Delaware, with whom I am currently working on an extensive project relating to the "dynamics of industrial societies" under the auspices of the Center of International Studies at Princeton.

THE POSSIBILITY AND SCOPE OF THEORIES

The current anxious pessimism concerning the topic of social change can be readily traced to several related sources. One such source is clearly the downfall or slight acceptability of global, simplifying theories. Sweeping evolutionary or cyclical doctrines have provided a relatively poor fit to data. Even where generalization may have been "justified," the loss of information in the process of abstraction has resulted in relevance to only minute segments of observed changes, or, in other words, in low predictive power.

Against this background of critical examination and rejection of general theories, the major and rather successful positive effort of social scientists over recent decades has been directed to static, cross-sectional, or "structural-functional" analysis. Now structures and functions, paraphrased as "patterns" and "consequences," are not inherently static. However, the theorists who have been most explicit about their concepts, assumptions, and specific theoretical problems have provided little guidance to the orderly transformation of social systems. Wherever an implicit "equilibrium" model is used, changes in patterns of action and their relationships tend to be viewed as deriving from "external" sources, and thus in some sense accidental. The system is viewed as reacting to change either by returning to the *status quo ante* or, more probably, by establishing a new equilibrium. Thus given a specifiable change in any component of the system, both the processes and results of social transformation may be traced. But this frame of reference provides little guidance to the occurrence of the initial change, save in the concept of "dysfunction" as a challenge to the notion of perfect integration.

The abandonment of "the quest for origins" in functional analysis—following the dictum that each item of culture or social action is to be explained by the rest of the system—has also meant, commonly, an abandonment of concern for sequences and transformations. It is noteworthy that historical relativism, although nominally rejected by sociologists as unnecessary defeatism, is closely akin to extreme cultural relativism, which implies a rejection of *both*

static and dynamic laws of any substantial generality.

The pessimism about laws of social change is scarcely warranted. Scholars and textbook writers (not elsewhere classified) would do well to re-read the works of those theorists who exhibit a more than casual concern for the past and the future as well as for the current state of affairs. Among contemporary theorists, Sorokin¹ and MacIver² stand out as scholars who show a major and insistent concern for change as a part of the very nature of social existence, rather than as a regrettable disturbance in the normally placid interdependence of self-equilibrating systems.

Between the global theories, which explain too little because they attempt too much, and the relativistic position that views all change as unique, there is a large middle territory. Within that spacious terrain one may note the standardized internal dynamics of groups of various types, and identify the sources, forms, directions, and rates of change in types and segments of social systems. If the resulting theory is not exactly simple, neither is it wholly simple-minded.

THE SOURCES OF CHANGE

Perhaps the most outstanding progress in the theory of social change has been made in the identification and analysis of the sources of change. In very general terms, this progress has resulted from the abandonment of causes primarily external to social systems and of single-factor explanations, with the correlative acceptance of "immanent" change³ as the prime mover in social dynamics.

Various Determinisms.—The long search for a singular cause of social change is understandable if regrettable. Simplicity is always an aim in theoretical work. If a single factor external to the social system could

¹ See especially Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, New York: American Book, 1937-1941, 4 vols.; also, the one-volume edition (the one cited hereafter), Boston: Porter Sargent, 1957; Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality*, New York: Harper, 1947.

² See Robert M. MacIver, *Social Causation*, Boston: Ginn, 1942; MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society*, New York: Rinehart, 1949, Chapters 22-29.

³ *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Chapters 38 and 39.

be identified as the source of change, simplicity would be further aided by avoidance of any confusion or uncertainty about the direction of the causal influence.⁴ That comfortable position had to be abandoned, however, in view of several basic difficulties:

(1) Climatic trends, physiographic features, and biological characteristics change very slowly relatively to the social dynamics for which causes are sought. A constant cannot not explain a variable in any system of logic.

(2) The purity of the causal direction is spurious. Human activity alters climate, topography, and human biology. "Natural selection" in the human species is always "social selection." Population changes are by no means independent of social structures.

(3) The relevance of human heredity and the non-human environment is always conditional and relative to the technology, social organization, and cultural values of human societies.

The abandonment of "external" causes in favor of causes of change within the system gains little if the theorist clings to a single "determinism." Among the many difficulties, extensively analyzed by Sorokin,⁵ the principal ones include, first, the conceptual confusion in identifying the leading variable, so that, for example, technology is equated with "material culture" rather than with a set of applicable scientific principles, or the "economic factor" subsumes such normative elements as property codes; second, the failure to avoid interdependence of variables in functional systems and, therefore, third, a complete failure to find empirical confirmation of alleged principles.

Adaptation to External Events.—Some of the literature on social change essentially avoids questions of primacy of sources, and attends rather to the consequences of external events. Thus shifts and crises deriving from climatic change or physiographic events

⁴ See Newell Le Roy Sims, *The Problem of Social Change*, New York: Crowell, 1939, Chapters 4-6, and pp. 250-280.

⁵ See especially *Society, Culture, and Personality*, Chapter 44. The persistence of the "culture lag" hypothesis and its variants in the face of Sorokin's devastating criticism (as well as criticisms by others) is itself an interesting example of resistance to change, or a "lag" not explainable by the hypothesis.

leave the sources of change largely unpredicted and uncontrolled, but still influential on social systems. Detection of standardized consequences, or a typology of them, however, may still be possible without prediction of the initial events. Even if such external sources of change are beyond the reach of sociological theory, they may still be left within the analytical system if the consequences have sufficient pattern to warrant generalization.

The theoretical situation is not essentially different if the "external" source of change is another "society" or "culture." The literature on acculturation, or contact and diffusion, generally does not predict the occurrence of contact, but rather classifies types of contact and types of consequences.⁶ Here, however, the sources of change are not beyond the theoretical limits of sociological inquiry, but rather beyond the actual limits of reliable research.

Two generalizations appear justified with reference to adaptation to "external" events or influences. Both are of a long-term and largely unidirectional or cumulative character.⁷ With reference to "natural" influences, accumulated knowledge of methods of prediction and control, together with an increased independence of social systems from the non-human environment, serves more and more to cushion (but not to eliminate) the impact of shifts and crises. With reference to inter-system contacts, on the other hand, the multiplication of agencies of communication serves to reduce the isolation and thus the autonomy of societies, to

⁶ See Sims, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245, 250-257; Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality*, Chapter 38.

⁷ Sorokin's rejection of any "ever-linear" change, although perhaps technically correct, does not rest upon historical grounds, but rather upon "logical" grounds and the appeal to a remote future when the sun's cooling results in an era of human "decline" before the final end of history. He concedes three long-term historically cumulative trends: in population size, knowledge, and social specialization. These, of course, are in some measure interrelated, but it is not clear that finite limits to population size (whether from the purely spatial standpoint or the problem of subsistence under deteriorating environmental conditions) have any necessary consequences for the cumulation of knowledge. Knowledge, translated into the technology, say, of space colonization, may avoid even the remote limits set by the natural environment. (See *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, pp. 664-669).

increase the proportion and rate of changes from external sources, and thereby to increase "cultural" interdependence and even homogeneity.⁸

Resolution of Human Problems.—If the search for sources of change turns inward to social systems themselves, it becomes apparent that there are persistent problems of the "human condition" that seem to be universal potential sources of positive human effort. Assuming that there are common "functional requisites of any society,"⁹ these may be viewed as providing minimal rather than ideal or stable conditions for the survival of systems. Although the translation of functions into values has been strongly criticized by Sorokin and others,¹⁰ it does appear empirically that at least a partial translation is tenable. For example, it is doubtful that health, longevity, and improved material conditions of life have ever been neglected or rejected by any substantial number of the population in any historical or contemporary culture. The virtually universal contemporary acceptance of the "gospel of economic development," despite the documented diversity of cultural values, can scarcely be understood otherwise.¹¹ Incidentally, this illustration does not imply a baldly "materialistic interpretation": there are many other problems of the human condition, such a normative conformity and the search for "meaning" in a super-empirical sense, that also provide the basis for recurrent social innovation.

On a less general level, and consistent with diversity of cultural values, one may still find prevalent inconsistencies between

⁸ See Wilbert E. Moore, "Creation of a Common Culture," *Confluence*, 4 (July, 1955), pp. 229-238.

⁹ Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, Chapter 4.

¹⁰ *Society, Culture, and Personality*, pp. 338-339.

¹¹ Moore, *op. cit.*; Arnold S. Feldman and Wilbert E. Moore, "Commitment of the Industrial Labor Force," in Feldman and Moore, editors, *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960, Chapter 1.

The position I have taken here appears consistent with that of MacIver; see his *Social Causation*, Chapter 10. This is a position I previously, and erroneously, criticized in "Sociology of Economic Organization," in G. Gurvitch and W. E. Moore, editors, *Twentieth Century Sociology*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1945, p. 460.

ideal values and patterned social behavior, inconsistencies that provide a potential, and probable, basis for efforts at closer approximation.

Sorokin is undoubtedly correct in insisting upon the uneven attention given to empirical science and rational technology through time and space.¹² Yet, he is also correct in noting the long-term linear "growth of human knowledge and inventions."¹³ The explanation of the cumulative trend seems clear. In the attempt to solve human problems, empirically verifiable knowledge and techniques of rational intervention in the natural or social order do not suffer long-term defeats in the face of competing systems of explanation and control. This interpretation argues that persistent problems provide challenges to social innovation, and the secular growth of science and technology implies that rational, secular solutions have a higher probability of acceptance and retention than any alternatives.¹⁴ It may be suggested, in fact, that a rational, technical orientation to the natural or social order is an essentially irreversible intellectual revolution.¹⁵

Flexibilities in the System.—A number of characteristics of human societies assure the probability of change, but without substantial guidance as to form, direction, or rate. Two principal systemic flexibilities are especially noteworthy: uncertainties in socialization, and role ranges and deviations.

To say that children are born into a society or culture is elliptical. They are normally born into a family unit, which in turn can be expected to be only partially

¹² *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, especially Chapters 13-23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 667. The difference in Sorokin's two positions is presumably a function of divergent time-and-space specifications.

¹⁴ This interpretation is consistent with the distinction between "civilization" (knowledge and technique, which are cumulative) and "culture" (values and norms, which are "optional" and non-cumulative). See, e.g., MacIver and Page, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-506.

¹⁵ See Wilbert E. Moore, "Measurement of the Organizational and Institutional Implications of Changes in Productive Technology," in International Social Science Council, *Social, Economic and Technological Change: A Theoretical Approach*, Paris: 1958, pp. 229-259, where this intellectual revolution is referred to as "the rise of the rational spirit."

representatives of a generalized and uniform set of values and normative and cognitive orientations. The universality of social differentiation structurally precludes exact uniformity in family position. Even when they occupy similar positions in the social structure, it is extremely unlikely that families will follow exactly uniform patterns of child care and rearing, or indeed that the same family will exhibit uniform behavior in the intimate interaction with successive offspring. Thus biological individual differences interact with diverse personality and structural factors to provide a rather wide range of possible variation. On a strictly actuarial view of socialization, uniformities are somewhat more remarkable than variations.

The uncertainties of socialization are given added point by the virtual impossibility of absolute role specification, even in a "tightly integrated" social system. Granting the probability of ranges of tolerable conduct within recurrent patterns of social relations, the opportunity if not the certainty of innovation exists.

Strains Inherent in the System.—The conception of an "integrated" social system, which informs much of the writing in contemporary sociology—often implicitly—is a model useful for many purposes, but is clearly contrary to fact. The use of some such model provides a first approximation to the systematic tracing of consequences of given changes, but does not account for change itself. For the latter, a somewhat different analytical model is appropriate, namely, one that permits identification of internal or immanent¹⁶ sources of change, including inherent strains.

Several types of inherent strains in ongoing societies are identifiable. Three may be noted as especially significant: demographic imbalances, universal scarcity situations, and the "dialectic" conflict between normative alternatives.

Although the conception of population changes as being essentially "biological" variables, external to social systems, is untenable,¹⁷ it remains true that demographic

¹⁶ *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Chapter 38. Sorokin's explanation of immanent change is on a somewhat more abstract, "philosophical" plane than the present discussion.

¹⁷ See Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, New

behavior is extremely unlikely to provide a precise total and differential control of fertility and mortality. In other words, precise stability of population size through time is unlikely, as is, *a fortiori*, precise maintenance of existing numerical distributions among social categories.

Over the short run for most areas of the world and for most periods of history, demographic imbalances probably have resulted in "fluctuations" and adjustments. Over the long run it appears clear that human populations have grown, although most rapidly in the modern era. The modern era has been characterized by a fairly standard sequence, probably unique for any given population,¹⁸ but repeated through space: the "demographic transition" from high fertility and mortality to low vital rates, with rapid intervening growth owing to mortality decline prior to fertility decline. As fertility is brought under deliberate and relatively effective control, its short-run fluctuations closely approximate various changes in levels of economic activity. The negative correlation between the number of children and the family's capacity to support them tends to be reduced or to disappear entirely. Still, no population reproduces its contemporary social differentials precisely. Moreover, the future consequences of current fertility behavior may exhibit, for example, substantial lack of "phasing" of labor supplies and labor demand.

The conception of universal scarcities is in effect a necessary extension of an assumption underlying much of economics. Not only are goods and services, or their monetary representation, likely to be scarce relative to human "wants," but so are time and loyalty (or "affective energy"). These three scarcities are often interrelated, so that allocations of loyalty may be indicated by allocation of time or treasure or both. However, they are analytically distinct. Any

York: Macmillan, 1949, Chapter 20; also, Wilbert E. Moore, "Sociology and Demography," in P. M. Hauser and O. D. Duncan, editors, *The Study of Population*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959, Chapter 33.

¹⁸ The conventional view of the demographic transition for one western nation, at least, is questioned by William Petersen in "The Demographic Transition in the Netherlands," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (June, 1960), pp. 334-347.

viable social system requires norms that determine allocation of these scarcities, but the latter remain omnipresent sources of potential strain in individual behavior and in the relations between and among various groups and social categories.

It is *not* suggested that the strains owing to scarcities form the basis for, say, the empirically untenable Marxian theory of "class struggle." But such strains would appear to be a pregnant source of competition within and among social groupings, and accordingly of normative innovation in the attempt to maintain order and *equity*. The equity of any system of differential allocation of scarce values is subject to challenge as to both principles and results. The same is true of any attempt at equalization. To assume that a system of undifferentiated equality in claims and rewards would be more stable (or equitable) than a differential system is pure prejudice.

A final immanent source of change may be suggested. The literature of sociology abounds with dichotomous classifications, ranging from culture-types through forms of social cohesion or relationship, to paired normative alternatives. Although such modes of classification are "primitive" in the sense that they attempt analysis in terms of attributes rather than variables, they are not useless. It is the beginning of wisdom to identify the dichotomies as polar extremes on a range of variation, and the pursuit of wisdom to note that "pure" types do not concretely exist. A very considerable gain in wisdom results, however, from recognizing the paired alternatives as conflicting principles of social organization and regulation, both of which are persistent in the system. Predominant institutionalization of one alternative does not dispel or dismiss its counterpart.¹⁹

A few illustrations of this essentially "dialectical" view of social systems may serve to indicate its possible value in resolving some theoretical difficulties that stem from the alternative notions of stable "in-

tegration." Sociologists have noted, for example, that "achieved status" systems retain elements of "ascription," and conversely. Although not so commonly noted, it is doubtful that predominant attention to common descent as the strongest bond in the "consanguine" kinship system entirely dispells the probable affective bonds arising in the "conjugal" relation, and conversely. The persistence of various reciprocities among adult siblings and between adult generations despite various inequalities in the mobility of the nuclear family is by this view not anachronistic. The more probable prediction is that of continued persistence if not actual increase in such phenomena, with all the strains that are thus entailed.

Similarly, Parsons' list of "pattern variables" (for example, universalism-particularism, diffuseness-specificity)²⁰ seem more useful as identifications of conflicting principles actually and always present than simply as concepts available to the observer to remind him that other situations are different.

This view of social dynamics is consistent with Sorokin's position with reference to "immanent change" and the "principle of limit,"²¹ but is not repetitive of his position. When Sorokin discusses alternative forms of social relationship (familistic, contractual, compulsory²²) or forms of government (authoritarian, democratic²³) he describes them as forms that "fluctuate" in their predominance through time. It appears more useful, and more consistent with the data, to account for such "fluctuations" by the continued presence of competing principles.

What the dialectic principle and other sources of change permit is a theoretical point of view that voids the inhibitions of a static equilibrium model, as well as a partial "accounting" for observed changes. The identification of common sources of change does not, however, uniformly aid

¹⁹ This view has been developed independently, but without primary application to social change, by Reinhard Bendix and Bennett Berger in "Images of Society and Problems of Concept Formation in Sociology," in Llewellyn Gross, editor, *Symposium on Sociological Theory*, Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1959, Chapter 3.

²⁰ See Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951; esp. pp. 180 ff.; see also Parsons, "Pattern Variables Revisited: A Response to Robert Dubin," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (August, 1960), pp. 467-483.

²¹ *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Chapters 38 and 39.

²² *Society, Culture, and Personality*, Chapters 5 and 29.

²³ *Ibid.*, Chapter 30.

in generalization about the direction and rate of change. The notion of successive approximations in the solution of human problems does invite a suggested relation with the apparently cumulative character of knowledge, as noted above. And the dialectic principle of normative alternatives does invite speculation about possible repetitive cycles (of the pendulum-swing variety). But the latter speculation has scant empirical basis and would require careful methodological formulation for reliable testing.

THE FORM AND DIRECTION OF CHANGE

A "pure" theory of social change might be viewed as concerned with any alterations in social phenomena (however defined) through time, with sole concern for such questions as form, sequence, direction, and rate. Such a mode of abstraction is analogous to the "pure" theory of "formal" sociology, which attends to the forms or types of social relations or interaction, in abstraction from the functional or meaningful content of such relations.

Some basis for such a "pure" theory exists, crudely in the common distinction between "evolutionary" and "cyclical" theories, more elaborately in detailed distinctions among forms of change. It may be useful in the present context to note some of the possible formal models of the direction of social change, for such models can be employed for purposes of identification and classification even when the starting point is substantive rather than formal.

Sorokin identifies three principal "patterns of direction" of change: linear—subdivided as unilinear, oscillating, spiral, and branching; cyclical; and variably or creatively recurrent direction, which may be approximately paraphrased as "cycles with trend."²⁴

Several methodological points now may be appropriately noted.²⁵ First, the form and direction of change clearly are in part a function of the time periods and observational units. Second, the shape of a curve

fitted to trend data accordingly depends in part on the detail demanded—for example, a curvilinear trend may be made rectilinear by greater generalization (and consequent loss of information or "goodness of fit"). Third, wherever reliable quantities are available, the available mathematical alternatives in curve-fitting are much more numerous than Sorokin's or similar alternatives. Fourth, the possible formal models are further multiplied if "interaction in process" or other complicating features are introduced.

In addition, it should be remembered that not all changes are necessarily directional in any significant sense, or perhaps even consequential for the social analyst. For some changes Sorokin's neutral term "fluctuations" seems to be appropriate. Others may be regarded as "variations on themes." Persons, including scholarly persons, living through large and obvious changes in the conditions of life may have the impression that all is flux, if not chaos. Yet some generalities and some particulars remain remarkably constant. It is presumably unnecessary here to enter an extended discussion of the theory of social structure, but a few reminders may be in order. First, fair agreement obtains among analysts concerning the functions essential for the survival of any society. These functions do not determine appropriate structures, but they obviously limit them. Thus many changes involve ranges of *structural substitutability* for constant ends and functions. Second, the specification of a number of characteristics of the particular type of society or the special characteristics of one system radically limits the range of potential substitution, but does not eliminate variation that, within these limits, may be "random."

These methodological points are of some consequence in view of the probability that increased attention to the phenomena of change will be accompanied by increased emphasis on "measurement."²⁶ They do not insure "good" theory, since that is first of all a matter of asking the right questions, but they do warn of some analytical options and hazards.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter 45.

²⁵ An extensive unpublished manuscript by Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Study of Social Change," 1958, has proved very useful in the following discussion.

²⁶ Wilbert E. Moore, "A Note on the Measurement of Social Change," *Social Science Research Council, Items*, 12 (December, 1958), pp. 42-43.

In view of the great diversity of social phenomena, it would probably be possible to illustrate each of the principal directional forms. Such illustration is not attempted here. Rather, two varieties of change are added to the previous list, each of some consequence in the analysis of major contemporary social transformations.

Some sequences (not "cycles") are apparently unique in given systems, but are partially repeated in space, through time. The "demographic transition" is noted above; at an even more general level, "economic modernization" or "industrialization" is another illustration. History of course does not precisely repeat itself either in time or "laterally" in space, but sufficient common elements appear to warrant generalization.

A more complex form of change involves "interaction in process." This may be identified by the rather cumbersome designation, "cumulative, retroactive evolution." The essentials of the pattern are segmental changes that cannot continue until later "stages" react back on the initial ones. The simplest illustrations are the first and second "agricultural revolutions," separated in time by intervening industrialization, each step being essential. Similarly, it appears probable that "automation" requires not only its technological foundations as such, but the intervening and interactive development of manifold managerial and professional services, made possible in turn by earlier gains in technical productivity.²⁷

UNEQUAL PROBABILITY AND RATE

Theoretically, innovation may occur at any point in the social structure; functional theory and various "equilibrium" models do not tell us where or when it is most likely. And although functional theory, or "systems" analysis, starts from the assumption that any change has repercussions throughout the system, we do not in fact know either this assumption to be true in detail or the path, rate, and degree of dependent change. The rejection of uniform

"determinisms" does not necessarily imply the alternative of "equal probability." A more systematic inquiry into the principal sources of change, whether at the general level used here or with reference to more particular social systems, would seem to be the proper course of future inquiry with respect to "lead" and "lags." The grain of truth in technological determinism, for example, appears to be the likelihood that innovation occurs with disproportionate frequency in the means for accomplishing seemingly standard ends, with frequently unanticipated repercussions. This sequence may give rise to the sequential alternation of innovation and accommodation. The possibility of rapid spread and acceptance of new cultural values and ideologies, however, provides a suitably chastening warning against simplification.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF "INTEGRATED" THEORY

Although a "pure" theory of social change can be contemplated, this is not viewed as the preferable path of progress. Even if change is the first criterion of selection for such a theory, nothing of empirical consequence can be said without specification of what is changing. The "structural-functionalists" are thus technically correct in maintaining that statics must *precede* dynamics.²⁸ But it is equally true that quite unrealistic static propositions may be produced unless statics is *followed by* dynamics.

The conventional organization of general sociological treatises relegates the topic of social change to the final chapter(s). Surely there is an alternative approach.²⁹ This would be to adopt some modest variant of the standard sociological or anthropological ways of identifying and ordering the principal segments of social systems. Most social science of whatever discipline consists of structural-functional analysis—asking what are the patterns, what are their interrelations? To these would be added several insistent questions: (1) What are the intrinsic dynamics of this segment? Examples might include the tendency of bureauc-

²⁷ This principle is elaborated in a paper by Arnold S. Feldman and Wilbert E. Moore, "Moot Points in the Theory," in Moore and Feldman, *op. cit.*, Chapter 20.

²⁸ Levy, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45, 72-76; see also Parsons, *The Social System*, Chapter 11.

²⁹ The balance of this paragraph follows, with only slight change, the article cited in footnote 26.

racies to proliferate offices, or the complex sequence in competitive structures of instrumental innovation, conservative reaction, and additional regulation. (2) What changes are the orderly consequences of intersegment functional interaction? Here, the interpenetration of occupational interest groups like unions, and complex work organizations like corporations afford illustrations. (3) What are the predictable leads, lags, tensions—such as the lead of deliberate change and the lag of adversely affected interests? (4) What are the reliable consequences for whole societies of these trends and interplays? An example is the pushing of common values to higher, indeed rarefied, levels of general-

ization while primary-group values may be intensified and particularized. (5) What can be painted with a broad brush on large canvases about inter-society relations and the trend of human kind generally? An important example is provided by the creation of common material standards of life without effective agreement on an equitable rationale for actual inequalities or even on the more ultimate values of human existence.

In sum, an "integrated" theory of social change will be as singular or plural as sociological theory as a whole, and will include about the same subdivisions and topics. It is not only later than we think, as always, but we are also nearer home.

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF CHANGE *

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Is functional analysis inherently static? An answer to this question requires a precise definition of such analysis. A functional system is defined as several variables which compensate for each other's variation, thus maintaining some property of the system. Four ways in which change is incorporated in functional systems are specified and some of the major arguments which attempt to demonstrate the static nature of functional analysis are discussed and rejected. Finally, two examples of functional analysis of change are presented: E. R. Leach's analysis of changing political systems in Burma, and Parsons and Smelser's analysis of the differentiation of ownership from control in the American economy.

FUNCTIONAL analysis is frequently criticized as being of little use in describing and predicting change.¹ At the same time, many social scientists interested in investigating change hesitate to give up the

functional approach. It has been fruitful in many empirical studies and crucial in many of the attempts to construct general theories of behavior.

Fortunately, a philosopher has come to aid of social scientists on this confused issue. Ernest Nagel² presents a formal definition of functional systems based on Merton's essay, "Manifest and Latent Functions."³ Nagel does not explicitly consider the problem of functional analysis of change. His formal definition of a functional system, however, provides a basis for outlining several specific ways in which functional analysis can be used to study change, and for concluding that most of the arguments about the static nature of such analysis are based

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¹ See, e.g., Ralf Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (September, 1958), pp. 115-127; Clifford Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change," *American Anthropologist*, 59 (February, 1957), pp. 32-54; Wayne Field, "The Study of Change in Social Science," *British Journal of Sociology*, 5 (March, 1954), pp. 1-10; David Lockwood, "Some Remarks on 'The Social System,'" *British Journal of Sociology*, 7 (June, 1956), pp. 134-146.

² Ernest Nagel, "A Formalization of Functionalism," in his *Logic Without Metaphysics*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956, pp. 247-283.

³ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 19-84.

on semantic confusion and unimaginative and incorrect methods.

The following discussion (1) summarizes Nagel's extensive formal definition of a functional system, (2) considers some of its methodological implications, (3) outlines the ways in which functional analysis, so defined, can deal with change, (4) answers some of the critics who charge that functional analysis cannot adequately treat change, and (5) presents two examples of investigation of change by means of functional analysis.

A DEFINITION OF "FUNCTIONAL SYSTEM"

To Nagel, functional analysis is distinguished by the use of a particular model, the model of a directly organized or functional system. A "model," here used in a very broad sense, is a set of general relationships. A model is useful if the relationships posited in it "fit" the data in the sense of parsimoniously yielding accurate and relevant predictions. The model of a functional system consists of a fairly complex set of properties or relationships. Two simpler models are described below for purposes of clarification and contrast.

The simplest and most general system model posits interdependence of elements within a certain boundary, that is, the interdependence has a specific referent. The model for such a *simple* system may be expressed as $x=f(y)$: one property is the function of another. This is the type of system implied by using "function" in the mathematical sense. Empirical examples are: the volume of gas at a constant temperature varies inversely with its pressure; the rate of suicide varies inversely with the strength of the collective conscience; presence of male initiation rites is associated with household composition.

These types of statements, using the model of a simple system, do not necessarily lead to predictions of either change or stability. Unless the state of part of the system at some future time is known, the future state of the system cannot be predicted. For example, to predict the suicide rate in two years hence, one would have to know the strength of the collective conscience at that time.

Certain properties can be added to the definition of a simple system so that, by definition, predictions of change or stability can be made on the basis of present knowledge. In a *deterministic* system, as defined by Nagel,⁴ the properties of the system at one time are a function of its properties at a certain previous time. Since it may be inconvenient to observe the whole set, one attempts to find the smallest number of properties or variables "such that the specific forms of *all* the properties . . . at any time are uniquely determined by these *n* properties at that time."⁵ Nagel cites the mechanics of bodies, the several dimensions of which can be neglected, as an example of a deterministic system:

Thus, in the case of a freely falling body, it suffices to know (in addition, of course, to the laws of motion) the position and momentum of the body at some initial instant, in order to be able to calculate its position and momentum (and accordingly other properties of the body, such as its kinetic energy, which are definable in terms of these co-ordinates) at any other instant.⁶

If one knows the present values of certain key variables and the stability or rates of change of these variables, then one can predict the values of these variables, and many others, at any future time.

If one treats a social system as a deterministic system, certain types of statements may be made. For example: since a society is integrated at the community level and is beginning to develop irrigation, it can be predicted on the basis of laws of socio-cultural development that it will develop cities and a national level of socio-cultural integration within the next two centuries; since the present questionnaire responses of a small, task-oriented group show little agreement on role differentiation, it can be predicted on the basis of laws of progressive consensus on role differentiation that the responses will show more agreement after five meetings.

A deterministic system is a simple system—with the added restriction that the properties of the system at one time are a function of its properties at a previous

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 253-256.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

time. A *functional* system is a deterministic system—with the added restriction that certain properties of the system are maintained despite potentially disruptive changes in the system or the environment or both.

A functional system, according to Nagel's definition, is made up of two types of variables: G 's and state co-ordinates. G is the property of the system that is maintained or is stable. State co-ordinates determine the presence or absence of G . The values of the state co-ordinates may vary to such an extent that the maintenance of G is threatened, but when one exceeds the "safe" limits for G , the other(s) compensates and G is maintained. Some of the state co-ordinates may lie outside the system boundary, that is, in the environment. Such a system of G and state co-ordinates may be called functional with respect to G and the state co-ordinates may be described as having the function of maintaining G .

For example, a small, task-oriented group could be treated as a functional system. Let G be the solution of the group's task or problem. Let the state co-ordinates be task-oriented activity and emotionally-supportive activity. If these three variables can be usefully treated as a functional system, then: (1) problem solution is dependent on task-oriented activity and emotionally-supportive activity; (2) at certain times, there will be such a preponderance of task-oriented activity that problem solution will be threatened because of decreased motivation or resentment over following others' suggestions—at these times emotionally-supportive activity will increase and problem solution will no longer be threatened; (3) at certain times, there will be such a preponderance of emotionally-supportive activity that problem solution will be threatened—at these times task-oriented activity will increase to maintain problem solution or G .

It should be noted that, by definition, more than one state of the system leads to maintenance of G . Thus, in the preceding example, eventual problem solution might result from both: initially high task-oriented activity and low supportive activity, followed by increased supportive activity; and initially low task-oriented activity and high supportive activity followed by increased task activity. In a functional sys-

tem there is more than one combination of the values of certain parts of the system which will result in the same trait or will have the same consequences (maintenance of G). This is one way of stating the familiar notion of functional equivalents.

It should also be noted that stability of G is not *assumed* in a functional analysis. On the contrary, it is assumed that the environment or parts of the system or both are changing so much that it is impossible for G to persist unless there are specific mechanisms within the system to compensate for these changes. It is therefore inappropriate to use this system model if the environment and the system are treated as constant, or if there is no state of the system which threatens the maintenance of G .

The definition of "functional" as "fulfilling a basic need" does assume that there is no state of the system which threatens the maintenance of G . This definition is therefore inappropriate according to Nagel's concept of a functional system. Functional analysis, as here defined, does not assume that G (some need) is stable and then explain the existence of state co-ordinates in terms of their efficiency in fulfilling this need. Rather, functional analysis shows that G is or is not maintained because certain state co-ordinates do or do not compensate for each other's variation. An example of a *non-functional* proposition is that religion and related institutions are maintained because of a need for the meaningfulness of life to be maintained, while a *functional* analysis would propose that the meaningfulness of life is maintained because of the interaction of religion and other institutions.⁷

Thus far, no specific attention has been given to the limits on possible variation of the values of state co-ordinates. Three limits on the values of the variables determining G should be considered. First, there are

⁷ This point would be clearer if functional systems had not been differentiated from simple and deterministic systems. A functional system statement can be reduced to a series of simple and deterministic system statements, and this reduction demonstrates that one cannot infer causation from functional statements any more than from statements of mathematical function or correlation. Such a reduction is not made here because the purpose of this paper is to determine whether or not functional analysis can be useful in studying change.

limits dictated by physical reality. To return to our former example, the amount of task-oriented activity possible in a given time period is limited by the number of people in the group and the number of messages that can be communicated within that time. Second, within the limits of physical reality, there are limits determined by the definition of the system under consideration. If a property is used to define a system, one cannot analyze conditions under which this property disappears, unless a different definition is used. For example, if one wishes to study the relations among interaction, role differentiation, and cohesion *within social systems*, and a social system is defined by a certain amount of interaction, there cannot be less than this amount of interaction.

Within these two types of limits there is a third which is the most relevant to this discussion. This is the limit beyond which compensation is impossible and G ceases to exist. In our previous example, it seems reasonable to assume that if either supportive activity or task-oriented activity increases or decreases beyond a certain point, no possible adjustment can result in maintenance of G or problem solution. Thus, if task-oriented activity exceeds certain limits, some of the group members may become so hostile or uninterested that no future supportive activity can regain their cooperation. Solution of the group's problem becomes impossible and the group can no longer be considered a functional system with respect to the G of problem solution.

This discussion of limits leads to a way of conceptualizing the potential stability of a given G in a given functional system. The persistence of G depends upon the amount of discrepancy between two ranges: the range of possible variation for each state co-ordinate and the range of variation that can be compensated for by variation in other state co-ordinates. G becomes less stable as the discrepancy between these two ranges increases.

In sum, a functional system is one that satisfies the following conditions: (1) the system can be analyzed into a set of interdependent variables or parts; (2) the values of some of these variables—state co-ordinates—determine whether or not a certain

property G will occur in the system; (3) there are certain limits on the variation of the values of state co-ordinates such that variation within the limits will be followed by a compensating variation of other state co-ordinates, resulting in the maintenance of G ; (4) variation beyond these limits will not be followed by a compensating variation of other state co-ordinates and G will disappear.

This definition of functional systems is neither complete nor without problems of its own.⁸ However, it should suffice to show that there is no logical reason why a functional analysis cannot be useful in investigating change. There are several ways in which functional analysis can be so used. For example, the presence or absence of G can be predicted if one knows whether or not the state co-ordinates are exceeding the limits within which compensation is possible. Or, G itself can be a cycle or a rate of change. And there is no empirical reason why functional analysis cannot be used to investigate change if some phenomena fit the model of a functional system and if one can assume that they will continue to fit it in the future.

Before proceeding, it should be noted that Nagel's definition of functional analysis does not include all of the many meanings ascribed to the term function. Therefore, caution should be maintained in generalizing the finding that functional analysis, as conceived by Nagel, can be used to investigate change. Functional analysis has been so broadly defined that one sociologist concludes that the term is "synonymous with sociological analysis."⁹ Nagel's definition elaborates and clarifies the type of "functional analysis" used, for example, by the

⁸ Because of the brevity of the above presentation, some of the problems apparent to the readers may be resolved by consulting the original, lengthy definition of functional systems made by Nagel, *op. cit.* For an interesting discussion of one problem, namely, the length of time elapsing before state co-ordinates compensate for each other's variation, see John C. Harsanyi, "Explanation and Comparative Dynamics in Social Sciences," *Behavioral Science*, 5 (April, 1960), pp. 136-145.

⁹ Kingsley Davis, "The Myth of Functional Analysis as a Special Method in Sociology and Anthropology," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December, 1959), p. 757.

sociologist Parsons,¹⁰ the anthropologist Leach,¹¹ and the linguist Martinet.¹² This definition, of course, excludes all modes of analysis that do not meet the four criteria specified above. Semantic difficulty could be largely eliminated by clear definitions of the different types of "functional analysis" and consensus on terminology. In the meantime, the special definition presented here may help to avoid semantic confusion.

A BASIC METHODOLOGICAL RULE

Nagel's formalization of functionalism provides a basis from which many useful methodological rules and terminological distinctions can be drawn, including some of those pointed out by Firth,¹³ Levy,¹⁴ Merton,¹⁵ and others.¹⁶ One rule, which has frequently been stated, is the importance of specifying the system and the G(s) in relation to which the state co-ordinates are functional. This rule is crucial to successful functional analysis of change (or stability) and deserves special attention. As Nagel points out in his comment on Merton's discussion of the ideological implications of functional analysis:

Functional analyses in all domains, and not only in sociology, run a similar risk of dogmatic provincialism which characterizes some analyses in sociology, when the relational character of functional statements is ignored, and when it is forgotten that a system may exhibit a variety of G's or that a given item may be a member of a variety of systems.¹⁷

Specification of the system(s) and the G(s) under consideration is especially important when a plurality of systems and

¹⁰ Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, *Economy and Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956.

¹¹ E. R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

¹² André Martinet, "Function, Structure and Sound Change," *Word*, 8 (April, 1952), pp. 1-32.

¹³ Raymond Firth, "Function," in W. L. Thomas, editor, *Current Anthropology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.

¹⁴ Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*

¹⁶ E.g., Bernard Barber, "Structural-Functional Analysis: Some Problems and Misunderstandings," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (April, 1956), pp. 129-135; Harry C. Bredemeier, "The Methodology of Functionalism," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (April, 1955) pp. 173-180.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

G's are involved. A sub-system may be functionally organized with respect to a G while the larger system is not. Or one may be interested in several G's and the conditions for maintaining some of the G's may preclude maintenance of others, that is, the range of values of a state co-ordinate that maintains G_1 may cause G_2 to disappear.

The importance of these distinctions becomes more apparent if one considers the definition of such terms as "equilibrium" and "functional unity." Equilibrium means the maintenance of G. G can be a stable state, for example, corruption of city government, or allocation of reward according to evaluation of performance; or it can be a stable rate of change, for example, accelerating rate of technological innovation, or decreasing interpersonal communication in pre-psychotics; or it can be a cycle or series of states, for example, change from a conservative power elite to an opportunistic elite and then again to a conservative elite, or change from feudalism to capitalism to communism. If only one G is being considered, equilibrium can be clearly defined. If a plurality of G's or subsystems or both is being considered and they are ranked on a scale, then the degree of stability of each G in each subsystem can be weighted and some general notion of the equilibrium of the total system can be defined. It is possible, however, that the G's and the subsystems cannot be ranked. In such a case, it would be meaningless to specify a general state of equilibrium if some G's in some subsystems are maintained while others are not. It would also be meaningless to discuss conditions of equilibrium for the system as a whole if the conditions for maintaining some G's preclude the maintenance of other G's.

A similar argument applies to the definition of the function of a phenomenon as "the contribution it makes to the total social life as the functioning of the total social system."¹⁸

Such a view implies that a social system . . . has a certain kind of unity. . . . We may define it as a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a suffi-

¹⁸ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952, p. 181.

cient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e., without producing persistent conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated.¹⁹

To translate this statement by Radcliffe-Brown into our terminology, the postulate of functional unity means that the conditions for maintaining a specified set of G 's in the system under consideration are not mutually exclusive or are mutually supportive. If no particular G 's are specified, then "functional unity" would mean that no persistent properties conflict with each other. It seems very doubtful that functional unity, in this latter sense, characterizes many social systems. In addition, treating a social system as a functional unity without specifying the G 's so unified results in a vague analysis and one that allows for no internal source of change. It is this use of functional unity that best merits Geertz's criticism of the adequacy of the functional approach in dealing with social change: "The emphasis on systems in balance, on social homeostasis, and on timeless structural pictures, leads to a bias in favor of 'well-integrated' societies in a stable equilibrium and to a tendency to emphasize the functional aspects of a people's usages and customs rather than their dysfunctional implications."²⁰

METHODS OF USING FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS TO INVESTIGATE CHANGE

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, a more precise delineation of the resources and limitations of functional analysis in investigating change can be made. The definition of different types of system change itself raises complex problems which cannot be discussed here.²¹ However, one set of definitions is important to the problem of the functional analysis of change, namely, the distinction between change *of* and *within* the system.²²

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Geertz, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

²¹ For a discussion of the logical problems and implications of different definitions of change, see Frank Cancian, "Some Problems in the Scientific Analysis of Change of Social and Cultural Systems," unpublished manuscript, Harvard University, 1959.

²² This distinction is discussed by Parsons and Smelser, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248.

Change *within* the system refers to change that does not alter the system's basic structure. In a functional system, this means changes in state co-ordinates for which compensation is possible. G and the relationship between state co-ordinates remain the same. Change *of* the system is any change that alters the system's basic structure. In a functional system, this includes disappearance of G , the appearance of new state co-ordinates or the disappearance of old ones, and change in the range of variation of state co-ordinates for which compensation is possible.

The ways in which change is incorporated in functional analysis now may be specified. Their justification lies in the definition of functional systems and in the consequent possibility of ordering systems hierarchically and of treating (sub)systems as state co-ordinates maintaining G 's in a more inclusive system.

(1) *Disappearance of G can be predicted as the result of failure to meet conditions of equilibrium.* Disappearance of G means change *of* the system. State co-ordinates exceed the limits within which compensation is possible and the functional system breaks down.

(2) *If G is defined as a stable rate of change or a moving equilibrium, a stable rate of change can be predicted as the result of fulfillment of the conditions of equilibrium.* In this case, state co-ordinates do not exceed the limits within which compensation is possible and G —a steady rate of change—is maintained.

(3) *Compensating changes in the values of state co-ordinates can be predicted as the result of an "initial" variation in other state co-ordinates that threaten the maintenance of G .* This is change *within* the structure of the system and it must, by definition, be possible in a functional system.

(4) *Systems can be treated as subsystems, that is, as state co-ordinates maintaining a G in a more inclusive system. Compensating changes in subsystems can be predicted as the result of an "initial" variation in other subsystems that threaten the maintenance of G .* In this case, change of a subsystem is change *within* a more inclusive system. In other words, what is a G

from the point of reference of the subsystem is a state co-ordinate from the point of reference of the more inclusive system. Thus, the disappearance of G , as depicted in (1) above, could be treated as the variation of a state co-ordinate in a more inclusive system.

These four methods can be used under the following conditions: first, if it can be assumed that a set of phenomena form a functional system; second, if information about an "initial" change in a state co-ordinate can be obtained; and, third, if there is information about whether this change is within or outside of the limits governing the possibility of compensation. If one is interested in predicting when an "initial" change will occur and whether or not it will be confined to such limits, he might use the model of a deterministic system (if x occurs at one time, then y will occur at some future time) or of a simple system (if x then y). These two models may also be used to predict the ramifications of the disappearance of G .

CRITICISMS AND EXAMPLES

If functional analysis can be used to investigate change in these various ways, why has it seldom been so used and why have certain critics adamantly asserted its inherent static bias? There are several cases, in fact, in which these methods of analyzing change have been employed, as the examples presented below indicate. Both the critics and proponents of functional analysis, however, often fail to see the potential of this model, and the critics frequently misconstrue the aims of the analyses which they attack.

Functionalists themselves have often invited severe criticism. The concepts of moving equilibrium and of hierarchically ordered systems are rarely used, eliminating in most instances two of the four ways of studying change functionally. Many investigators do not attempt to formulate their analyses in terms of state co-ordinates—variables that are essential to the maintenance of some G and that can vary only within certain limits if G is to be maintained. In this case, none of the four methods of analyzing change can be used. There is no predic-

tive power for change or stability in the statement, "the function of x is to maintain G ," unless it implies that G will cease to exist if x and its functional equivalents are terminated or if certain limits are exceeded.

Failure to state functional studies in precise form, along with lack of specification of G , the state co-ordinates, and the system under consideration, results in inadequate analysis of both change and stability. If a functional analysis has been refined to the point where it provides an adequate explanation of stability, then it will always imply certain predictions about change; if the conditions of equilibrium are specified, the prediction can be made that change will occur when these conditions are not met.

However, lack of precision characterizes functionalists and non-functionalists alike and is often unavoidable in exploratory studies. In any case, most of the critics who claim that a static bias inheres in functionalism stress neither the necessity of precise analysis nor the use of moving equilibria and hierarchically ordered systems. Instead, they focus their attack on the defining attribute of functional systems, that is, the maintenance of a certain state of the system (G) or equilibrium.

Among anthropologists, one of the strongest criticisms has been made by E. R. Leach in the theoretical sections of his book, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*.²³ Like many other anthropologists, he assumes that functional analysis is inherently static and, also, that adequate descriptions of societies must be made in functional terms. Thus Leach states: "In practical field work situations the anthropologist must always treat the material of observation as if it were part of an overall equilibrium, otherwise description becomes almost impossible."²⁴ But elsewhere he writes: "While conceptual models of society are necessarily models of equilibrium systems, real societies can never be in equilibrium."²⁵ Firth seems to agree with this view when he comments that "the necessary equilibrium of the model as a construct means that essentially it is debarred from providing in itself a dynamic

²³ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285 (emphasis in original).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

analysis."²⁶ Given these two assumptions, Leach appears to infer—validly—that functional analyses have been extremely inadequate in investigating change and that major alterations in methodology will have to be made before the situation improves.

But both assumptions are invalid. The first, the assumption that social and cultural systems *must* be treated as if they were in equilibrium, ignores a possibility noted above. Functional system models may be preferable, but a simple or deterministic system model may also be used. The applicability of a functional model cannot be assumed *a priori*. The model should be applied in cases where it seems useful to treat specific states or parts of the system as G's and state co-ordinates. If the G's and state co-ordinates cannot be specified, the analysis will result in a great deal of confusion (and possibly some very productive hints for further research).

Secondly, an equilibrated or functional system need not be static unless "change *within* the system" is subsumed under the term "static." Moving equilibria may be used. Or systems and subsystems may be differentiated with subsystems treated as state co-ordinates and therefore, by definition, as changing. In addition, *using* the model of a functional system does not imply that the system *is* in equilibrium, that G is being maintained. Specification of the conditions necessary to maintain G may explain why G is not being maintained. Thus Leach's criticism, at least in part, seems to be based on false premises.

If the criticisms in the theoretical sections of Leach's study are misleading, elsewhere in the volume Leach himself refutes the proposition that functional analyses are necessarily static. In the following brief (and incomplete) outline of his examination of cyclical political change in Kachin society an attempt is made to translate Leach's presentation into our terminology (G's, state co-ordinates).

Leach isolates certain political systems, among them the democratic (*gumlao*) and aristocratic (*gumsa*), and treats them as subsystems of Kachin society. Certain basic norms of this society are interpreted as the

G of the larger system, and the different political subsystems as state co-ordinates. Leach also treats each political subsystem as itself a functional system. He specifies the conditions of equilibrium in each of the subsystems and demonstrates that these conditions cannot be met for long periods of time if the basic norms of Kachin society are to be maintained. The result is a cyclical set of changes of the political systems *within* the larger Kachin social system. Political subsystems (state co-ordinates) change but the basic norms (G) are maintained.

A *gumsa* political state tends to develop features which lead to rebellion, resulting, for a time, in a *gumlao* order. But a *gumlao* community, unless it happens to be centered around a fixed territorial centre . . . , usually lacks the means to hold its component lineages together in a status of equality. It will then either disintegrate altogether through fission, or else status difference between lineage groups will bring the system back into the *gumsa* pattern.²⁷

Leach shows how an aristocratic political system prospers and is maintained until it begins to undermine the Kachin norms concerning obligations towards one's wife's family. At this point, either the aristocratic system or Kachin society must disintegrate since one type of marriage system is essential to the aristocratic political system while a conflicting marriage system is "the crucial distinguishing principle of modern Kachin social structure."²⁸ Leach's evidence indicates that Kachin society is a functional system with respect to this marriage system. When the marriage system is threatened by the aristocratic system, the latter disintegrates, becomes democratic, and the marriage system is maintained. A similar reversal of the political order occurs when a democratic political system reaches the point of conflicting with the basic Kachin norm of higher status for the wife's family than for the husband's family. Thus, despite his criticism of structural-functional analysis, Leach's presentation of cyclical change in Kachin society can be seen as a demonstration of the dynamic potential of such analysis.

The criticisms made by some sociologists are much more sweeping than those voiced

²⁶ Raymond Firth, Foreword in Leach, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

²⁷ Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

by Leach, and seem to call for the abandonment of functional analysis rather than its refinement. Critics such as Dahrendorf and Hield appear to start with two assumptions: first, that functional systems must be static; second, that the G's used in functional analysis must be the values and norms that characterize the majority of the members of the group, often including those of the social scientists themselves. For example, Dahrendorf attacks "the sense of complacency with—if not justification of—the status quo, which by intention or default pervades the structure-functional school of social thought."²⁹ He also asserts that analyses of this "school" cannot deal with change, and since he rejects "the entirely spurious distinction between 'change within' and 'change of societies,'" ³⁰ he charges in effect that no type of change can be incorporated into a functional analysis. The discussion above should suffice to disprove this charge.

Hield makes similar criticisms: "The 'structural functional' orientation is a set of methodological tools for the study of social control, deviance, and 're-equilibration.'" ³¹ Again: "Where deviance presents itself, the theoretical concern is with the processes involved in restoring or re-equilibrating a condition of equilibrium or social control."³² And: "The study of change has thus been obscured by the formulation of theoretic constructs stressing order and stability."³³

These criticisms have a certain validity if functional analysis is limited to the definition of G's in terms of a static system of shared values. The several examples presented above show the different possible definitions of G and thus of equilibrium. G may be a moving equilibrium, a state of conflict, a set of values characterizing a deviant group, or it may have nothing to do with values as, for example, in the case of an annual increase of gross national product.

These critics, then, incorrectly define equilibrium or G because they identify the inherent properties of functional analysis

with the particular way such analysis has been used by many social scientists. More specifically, they attack the approach exemplified by Talcott Parsons and assume that this approach exhausts the analytic potentialities of functionalism.

Parsons has devoted a considerable part of his work to answering the Hobbesian problem of order. He defines the social system in terms of shared values: "Analytically considered, the structure of social systems as treated within the frame of reference of action, *consists* in institutionalized patterns of normative culture."³⁴ Parsons assumes the stability of values to "provide a reference point for the orderly analysis of a whole range of problems of variation which can be treated as arising from sources *other* than processes of structural change in the system."³⁵ If shared values define the system, it is difficult to treat major conflict and deviance in the area of values as part of the system. And if one assumes stability of values, major structural change of the system is excluded, by definition.

Thus Parsons' explicit strategy is to hold constant values and the basic structure of the system. It is extremely difficult validly to criticize a theorist's strategy, since its usefulness can be tested only by comparing prolonged research using one strategy with similar research using another and by assessing the results. Some kind of strategy is necessary and something must be held constant.

Parsons, like Leach, treats certain aspects of the larger system as G's and then analyzes changes in subsystems or state co-ordinates. "Structural change in subsystems [state co-ordinates] is an inescapable part of equilibrating process in larger systems."³⁶

A final example of the dynamic possibilities of functional analysis is provided by Parsons and Smelser's study of structural change of the economic subsystem.³⁷ The

²⁹ Dahrendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³¹ Hield, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁴ Talcott Parsons, "An Outline of the Social System," Cambridge, Mass.: 1958, p. 19, mimeographed, (emphasis in original).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25 (emphasis in original).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

³⁷ Parsons and Smelser, *op. cit.* See also Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959, for an elaboration of this method of analysis and

first step in their analysis of differentiation of ownership from control in the American economy "is to define the appropriate systems and subsystems clearly and consistently as points of reference."³⁸ Relevant subsystems are defined and ranked and the relations between them are specified. But their main goal is to construct "a general model which in its outline applies to changes in the institutional structure of *any* social system."³⁹ Their procedure involves, first, a definition of the conditions of equilibrium necessary for no differentiation of ownership and control in the economy, on the one hand, and, on the other, for such differentiation; second, the postulation of a sequence of conditions that will produce a change from no differentiation to differentiation; third, a demonstration of why this sequence of conditions will occur, given the relationships between subsystems.

The analysis by Parsons and Smelser of the relationships between subsystems specifies the conditions necessary to maintain a certain state of the economy. For example, specified combinations of an appropriately motivated labor force, a certain degree of encouragement of enterprise, and certain wage levels are necessary to maintain a differentiated economic system. Parsons and Smelser also describe the possible relationships between subsystems *whether or not* these relationships result in equilibrium. In other words, the model of a simple or deterministic system is used, and the analysis is focused on the repercussions of an "initial" change on other parts of the system, regardless of whether this change lies within the limits of possible compensation. If these repercussions are known, then the state of the system at future times can be predicted—it is a deterministic system. If the repercussions satisfy the conditions of a new equilibrated or functional system, then a new stable state can be predicted.

a detailed application of it to differentiation in the British cotton industry and family system.

³⁸ Parsons and Smelser, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 252 (emphasis in original).

Parsons and Smelser focus on an initial change which carries especially important implications for the rest of the system because of the relationships between subsystems, namely, "withdrawal of labour input in response to dissatisfaction with mode of employment and an increased demand for productivity."⁴⁰ This initial change violates the conditions of equilibrium of the undifferentiated economy. They then specify the sequences of conditions that must occur if a differentiated economy is to be established and maintained. For example, at an early stage it must be possible "to try out ways of exercising managerial responsibility effectively outside the direct control of the owner-groups,"⁴¹ and at a later stage the innovations must be institutionalized and rewards must be allocated according to conformity to past innovations rather than the development of new ones. (These sequences are based on a general theory of the process of structural change in systems of action.⁴²) Partially on the basis of their previous analysis of the structure of the economy, it is shown how the ramifications of the initial change result in a state of the system which maintains structural differentiation in the economy.

The analyses of change by Parsons and Smelser and by Leach, as well as the less developed examples presented above, show some of the ways in which functional analysis can be used to investigate change. Further progress in the analysis of change does not require abandoning the model of a functional system. Rather, the need is for further specification of alternative functional models, clarification of the logical possibilities of different models, and development of theories, empirical generalizations, and procedural rules which will enable the investigator to choose the model or models best suited to his problem.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴² Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, Chapter 7.

SCIENTIFIC PRODUCTIVITY AND ACADEMIC ORGANIZATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MEDICINE *

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Changes in the relative "productivity" of the medical sciences in France, Germany, Britain, and the United States from 1800 to about 1925 may be explained as a result of the various degrees of competitiveness of the academic systems of these countries. The German and the American systems were competitive (because they were decentralized); the French and the British were not. Academic competition forced upon the German system, and later the American system as well, decisions which, according to contemporary expert opinion, were premature or unnecessary. These decisions, concerning the recognition of specialized disciplines, creation of research facilities, and expansion of scientific training, led to the emergence of regular scientific careers, and proved eventually to be decisive for the acceleration of scientific research.

THE purpose of this paper is to describe and explain differences as well as fluctuations in the productivity of the medical sciences in Germany, France, Britain, and the United States, from 1800 to about the time of World War I. Scientific productivity as defined here does not comprise any evaluation of the greatness or depth of various scientific ideas, or of the "efficiency" of scientific production as measured by some input-output ratio. It refers only to two gross quantities: the number of scientific discoveries (including scientifically important technical inventions), and the numbers of people making such discoveries. Provided that these numbers are not a fixed proportion of the general population or some other general quantity, they are a measure of the active interest in science existing in a society at a certain point of time.

The two suggested indexes of productivity—the numbers of discoveries and of discoverers—have not precisely the same meaning and there are obvious objections to both. It can be argued that since scientific discoveries are disparate units of unequal significance, it is meaningless to count them.¹

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¹ The method is applied and discussed by T. J. Rainoff, "Wave-like Fluctuations of Creative Pro-

The first part of the claim is true, but not the deduction from it. It has been shown time and again that "great" discoveries had been preceded by intensive activity manifested in numerous "small" discoveries, often leading to the simultaneous finding of the final solution by more than one person.² Similarly, one of the signs of a great discovery is that it leads to a greater number of smaller discoveries based on the newly discovered principle.³ Therefore, viewing science as a flow of constant activity, great discoveries appear as waves built up gradually by the ant-like work of predecessors, leading first to an upsurge of activity by followers and disciples and then diminishing into routine when the potentialities of the great idea have been (or seem to be) exhausted. Thus there is no need to weight the individual discoveries. The weighting is

ductivity in the Development of West-European Physics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Isis*, 12 (1929), pp. 291-292. See also S. C. Gilfillan, *The Sociology of Invention*, Chicago: Follett, 1935, pp. 29-32; Joseph Schneider, "The Cultural Situation as a Condition for the Achievement of Fame," *American Sociological Review*, 2 (August, 1937), pp. 480-491; Frank R. Cowell, *History, Civilization and Culture: An Introduction to the Historical and Social Philosophy of Pitirim A. Sorokin*, London: Black, 1952, pp. 90-106; and especially the methodological comments of Robert K. Merton, "Fluctuations in the Rate of Industrial Invention," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 59 (May, 1935), p. 456.

² Cf. William F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, New York: Huebsch, 1922, pp. 90-122; Bernhard J. Stern, *Society and Medical Progress*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941, pp. 41-44.

³ Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-465.

done automatically by the clustering of discoveries around the significant event. This is not to deny that there are lone discoveries, neither expected beforehand nor understood after they are made. For the historian who sits in judgment of individual greatness and stupidity, these are important events that prove the absurdity of our method of counting. But if one's purpose is to gauge the extent to which various social systems induce people to scientific productivity, then the relatively negligible weight accorded to the lone discovery is a good index of the relative lack of inducement to engage in research in that society.

The use of the number of discoverers (not students or graduates) as an index of scientific activity can be justified by similar reasoning. Such men as Newton, Lavoisier, and Einstein did not spring up in scientific deserts but in environments of intensive scientific interest, and their work inspired disciples and followers. So we can expect a general correspondence between this index and the previous one. Yet, there are numerous problems involved in the use of this index. In principle, the same numbers of discoveries can be made by quite different numbers of people, so that there may be no relationship between the two counts. In fact, however, the variation is quite limited, because the accomplishment of even a single scientific discovery demands as a rule considerable investment of time and training: one can assume that discoveries will be made by persons with special characteristics ("discoverers") and not randomly either by them or others. Thus we take this figure too as a good index of the social inducement to engage in research. No more than general correspondence between the two sets of data is expected, however, because, first, there may be variations due to institutional circumstances in the length of the creative period of discoverers, and in the chances of "outsiders" for making discoveries; and, second, even if these things were constant, the shape of the two curves would still differ because each discovery is a single event counted only once, at the time of its occurrence, while discoverers must be counted over a period of time or at an arbitrarily fixed point of time (such as their age at the beginning of the professional career).

For these reasons we expect this second index to correspond with the first only in registering relatively long-term and gross changes. But in such details as the exact time of the changes and short term fluctuations no correspondence between the two indices can be expected.

A second problem requiring preliminary clarification is the definition of medical sciences. We have adopted the criteria of our sources, which include all discoveries that eventually became part of the medical tradition. Undoubtedly this implies the inclusion of some non-medical discoveries and discoverers; therefore, from the viewpoint of the history of scientific ideas, this may not be too meaningful a category. However, in a study of scientific activity one needs data reflecting activity in more or less homogeneous institutional frameworks, irrespective of whether they do or do not relate to a logically coherent system of ideas. On this score, medicine in the nineteenth century seems to be a good choice. Through most of the century it was closely interwoven with the natural sciences. It had been the first profession based on the study of natural sciences, and medical faculties were the first university departments to teach them. For many years the only large-scale and permanent organizations where research was systematically conducted were the teaching hospitals. Also, the art of the apothecary and the science of chemistry were often connected until the early nineteenth century. Thus the sciences associated with medicine have formed a complex of scientific activity which has been related to well defined social structures since the eighteenth century, whereas most of the basic sciences were the professional concern of only a few individuals in any country well into the second half of the nineteenth century. The medical sciences, therefore, appear to be well suited for discerning the effect of structural changes upon scientific creativity during the period under consideration.

THE QUESTIONS TO BE EXPLAINED

Table 1 is based on a count of medical discoveries made in the countries here surveyed from 1800 to 1926, according to a "Chronology of Medicine and Public Hy-

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF DISCOVERIES IN THE MEDICAL SCIENCES BY NATIONS, 1800-1926

Year	U.S.A.	England	France	Germany	Other	Unknown	Total
1800-09	2	8	9	5	2	1	27
1810-19	3	14	19	6	2	3	47
1820-29	1	12	26	12	5	1	57
1830-39	4	20	18	25	3	1	71
1840-49	6	14	13	28	7	—	68
1850-59	7	12	11	32	4	3	69
1860-69	5	5	10	33	7	2	62
1870-79	5	7	7	37	6	1	63
1880-89	18	12	19	74	19	5	147
1890-99	26	13	18	44	24	11	136
1900-09	28	18	13	61	20	8	148
1910-19	40	13	8	20	11	7	99
1920-26	27	3	3	7	2	2	44

Source: see footnote 4.

giene."⁴ The data reveal two different trends.

First, between 1810 and 1819 a rise in the number of discoveries in France and Britain begins, followed in Germany in the next decade. By 1840, the rise has passed its peak in France and Britain and a decline sets in lasting until the 1870s. Second, an upsurge starts simultaneously in all these three nations and in the United States in 1880. These parallel movements reflect the story of the convergence of chemical, anatomical, physiological, and pathological discoveries in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the spate of bacteriological and surgical innovations which followed the work of Pasteur, Lister, and Koch in the last quarter of the century. Both waves show only that certain fruitful ideas had been simultaneously, or nearly simultaneously, exploited in Western European countries beginning from the early nineteenth century, and in the United States as well from the end of the century. Apart from indicating that scientific communication among these countries was well established by that time and that therefore the phenomena reflect the course of scientific ideas, they call for no sociological explanation. What needs to be explained is the conspicuous change in the relative shares of the countries during this period. French supremacy in the beginning of the century with Britain a close second gave way to an

overwhelming preponderance of German discoveries through the second half of the last century. The American share was rapidly increasing from the 1880s and became the largest by 1910-1919. Since this was the time of World War I, comparison with the European countries may seem of doubtful validity; but the relative decline of the European countries started prior to the war and lasted well into the twenties, so that it should not be attributed entirely to the war. Figure 1 shows the proportion of the total discoveries made in each nation during each period as a proportion of the country's relative share over the whole period

$$(y=100 \frac{\text{country's share in decade (\%)}}{\text{country's share over whole period (\%)}})$$

A significant aspect of this change of relative positions is that it is connected with an atypical growth in the curve of discoveries in the country which is gaining the largest share. Thus the number of German discoveries continually increases through the middle of the nineteenth century in a period of decline in France and Britain. A similar deviation marks the change in the relative position of the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A similar pattern marks the number of discoverers. Table 2 shows the "productivity" of the various countries in terms of scientists.⁵ France and Britain, with the largest numbers at the beginning of the cen-

⁴ Published in F. H. Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine*, 4th edition, Philadelphia and London: Saunders, 1929.

⁵ Based on W. A. Newman Dorland, *The American Illustrated Medical Dictionary*, 20th edition, Philadelphia and London: Saunders, 1946.

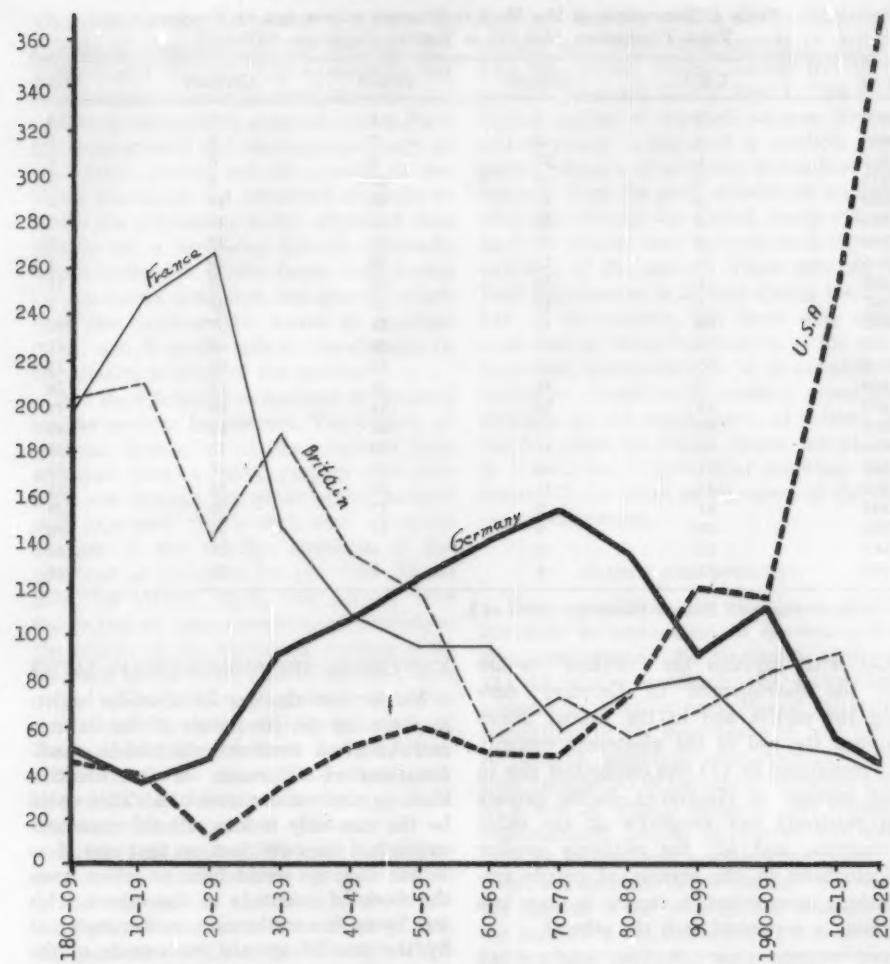


FIGURE 1. CHANGES IN THE RELATIVE SHARE OF MEDICAL DISCOVERIES IN SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1800-1926

tury, fall behind Germany starting about 1835. While the number of German scientists entering upon their careers increases regularly, with only one considerable drop until 1885-1890, there are fluctuations and a generally downward slope in France and England through the middle of the century. The American trend, like the German, shows much less fluctuation. Thus, with respect to major trends, the two indexes validate each other.⁶

⁶ The pattern which emerges from these indexes parallels the qualitative descriptions of up-to-date histories of medicine and science. See, e.g., Arturo

Two questions emerge: What explains the change of scientific leadership from France to Germany to the United States?

Castiglioni, *A History of Medicine*, New York: Knopf, 1947; Richard H. Shryock, *The Development of Modern Medicine*, New York: Knopf, 1947; H. T. Pledge, *Science Since 1500*, London: Philosophical Library, 1940. Rather than simply referring to such sources, I prefer to present the numerical indexes in detail for two reasons: (1) They contain some information not sufficiently emphasized—or even blurred—in those sources. Thus the small amount of medical research in Britain is blurred in the qualitative descriptions by the dazzling brilliance of England's few scientist-intellectuals and by the glamor of the

TABLE 2. DISCOVERERS IN THE MEDICAL SCIENCES AT THE AGE OF ENTERING THEIR PROFESSIONS (AGE 25) IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1800-1910

Year	U.S.A.	England	France	Germany	Other
1800	1	7	8	7	4
1805	1	8	5	8	2
1810	3	11	6	6	2
1815	2	12	12	7	3
1820	3	11	23	18	2
1825	2	17	15	18	6
1830	8	12	25	10	6
1835	11	13	26	29	7
1840	5	24	22	35	12
1845	5	14	13	33	5
1850	10	18	21	37	10
1855	15	16	20	49	27
1860	16	23	13	61	23
1865	25	15	36	71	26
1870	25	15	31	83	41
1875	40	31	23	84	46
1880	48	17	40	75	50
1885	52	16	34	97	52
1890	43	11	23	74	41
1895	47	9	27	78	29
1900	32	9	17	53	30
1905	28	4	4	34	25
1910	23	6	7	23	18

Source: Dorland's Medical Dictionary (20th ed.).

And what explains the "deviant" nature of the development in Germany during the middle and in the United States toward the end of the nineteenth century, as manifested in (1) the continuous rise in the number of discoveries during periods of relatively low creativity in the other countries; and (2) the relatively smaller fluctuations in the number of people embarking upon scientific careers in these two countries compared with the others?

British medical profession. Also, the different patterns of growth of scientific personnel (discoverers) is a subject not sufficiently emphasized in the histories of medical science. (2) What is called here scientific productivity is only one aspect of the development of science; in terms of the interrelationships of scientific ideas it is perhaps a peripheral one. Since traditionally the history of science is an history of ideas, even the few historians interested in such sociological phenomena as differences in the scientific development of various countries are not very explicit about the bases of their judgments, nor do they sufficiently differentiate between the various aspects of science as a social activity. It is important, therefore, to present explicitly the quantitative basis of the historians' judgment and clearly delimit the particular aspect of scientific activity dealt with here from others.

HYPOTHESIS: THE ORGANIZATIONAL FACTOR

Neither the changes in scientific leadership nor the deviant nature of the German and American developments can be manifestations of differences in the scientific ideas in the various countries. This could be the case only if international communication had been deficient, so that new ideas in one country would have no effect upon the work of scientists in the others. This was by no means the case, as demonstrated by the parallel upward movements of the curves of discoveries in all the countries in periods of crucial scientific advance. Independently from this fact, whatever barriers to scientific communication had existed between France and Germany during the first decades of the nineteenth century had disappeared by the beginning of the fourth decade. By about the same time, the British too established contacts with continental science, from which they had become isolated with decreasing splendor during the eighteenth century, as did the Americans.⁷

⁷ Cf. Shryock, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-196; Paul Diepgen, *Geschichte der Medizin*, Berlin: Gruyter, 1955, Vol. II/1, pp. 204-207; Charles Newman, *The Evolution of Medical Education in the Nineteenth*

Therefore nothing immanent to science as a body of ideas explains the observed differences and changes. The explanation has to be sought in external circumstances.

Among the possible external causes there are some general and obvious ones, such as population growth and the growth of national income. A few unrefined attempts to assess the population factor suggested that this is not a promising line of approach. The introduction of this factor does flatten out the curves somewhat, but does not eliminate the characteristic waves of development, and it hardly affects the changes in the relative position of the nations.⁸

Nor do differences in national or personal income seem to be relevant. The indexes of national income in all the countries here surveyed show a fairly gradual and constant rise through the whole period without such ups and downs and such extensive changes in the relative positions of the countries as indicated by our data. Moreover, the United States and Britain were the richest of these countries, at least since the middle of the nineteenth century (and no doubt earlier in the case of Britain). Yet, as to medical discoveries, these countries were relatively backward during much of the period.⁹ None of these factors, therefore, seems to be directly and consistently related to the differences in the growth of discoveries in the various nations.

Thus, it is assumed that the conditions determining the differences are to be sought in the *organization* of science. But this is a complex phenomenon: we still must seek the particular organizational factor which reasonably answers our questions. It is proposed to isolate this factor by comparing the main aspects of the organization of science in France and Germany during the

Century, London: Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. 265-269.

⁸ The sources used for population data were *La Population Française: Rapport du Haut Comité Consultatif de la Population et de la Famille*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, p. 19; Michel Huber, Henri Bunle, et Fernand Boverat, *La Population de la France*, Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1943, p. 19; W. S. and E. S. Woytinsky, *World Population and Production*, New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1953.

⁹ For national income data, see, e.g., Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress*, 2nd edition, London: Macmillan, 1951.

first half and the middle of the nineteenth century and those same aspects in Britain and the United States during the three decades preceding World War I. This particular pairing is selected because France and Germany maintained a publicly supported network of scientific instruction and research from the early nineteenth century, while Britain and the United States did not begin to develop their systems until the second half of the century. There were short-lived experiments in Britain during the first half of the century, but these were overshadowed by the archaic nature of the most important universities. If it is possible to isolate a theoretically relevant condition common to the organization of science in Germany and the United States, but absent in France and Britain, that condition may reasonably be taken as the cause of the observed differences.

FRANCE AND GERMANY

Three conditions are mentioned in the literature in explanation of German scientific superiority in the nineteenth century: (1) the relative excellence of laboratory and hospital facilities for research and the faster recognition of the importance of new fields of research, especially physiology; (2) the clear recognition of the aim of the university as a seat of original research, and efficient organizational devices to achieve that aim, such as far-reaching academic self government, the freedom of the teacher regarding the content of his courses, the freedom of the student in the choice of his courses and his teachers (including easy transfer from one university to another), the requirement of submitting theses based on research for attainment of academic degrees, and, above all, the institution of *Habilitation*, that is, the submission of a high level scientific work based on original research as a precondition of academic appointment; (3) the existence of a large number of academic institutions which made possible the mobility of teachers and students, and resulted in an atmosphere of scientific competition that did not exist elsewhere.¹⁰ The superiority

¹⁰ Cf. Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. 317-327; Donald S. L. Cardwell, *The Organization of Science in England*, London:

of the German scientific facilities from about the middle of the century is an undeniable fact. But instead of explaining the differences in creativity, it is itself a phenomenon that needs explanation.

The pioneering country in the establishment of modern scientific facilities was France. Founded in 1794, the Polytechnique had been the model academic organization in the natural sciences. Among other new features, it possessed the first academic research laboratories (in chemistry). The physiological laboratory at the Collège de France, where Magendie and Claude Bernard conducted their studies, was considered most inadequate by the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet it was there that modern experimental physiology began. The idea of studying illness as a natural phenomenon, not necessarily for the sake of cure, was first conceived in Paris, and the beginnings of systematic clinical research in medicine were made in the hospitals of that city.¹¹

Until the 1830s German medical research and natural science research in general was backward compared with the French, and probably with the British too. The famous network of modern German universities already existed from the time when, following tentative beginnings at Halle, Goettingen and Jena, the University of Berlin was established in 1809.¹² But the universities, rather than promoting, retarded the development of empirical science. They regarded philosophy as the queen of sciences, and usually disparaged empirical research. The biological sciences in particular were under the sway of *Naturphilosophie*, which stimulated much imaginative writing but little research.¹³

Only around 1830 did this atmosphere

Heinemann, 1957, pp. 22-25; H. E. Guerlac, "Science and French National Strength" in E. M. Earle, editor, *Modern France*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. 85-88.

¹¹ Cf. Shryock, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71, 151-169; Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Guerlac, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-105.

¹² Cf. Flexner, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-315; R. H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas, *Education and Society in Modern Germany*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949, pp. 111-113; Jacob Barion, *Universitas und Universitaet*, Bonn: Rörscheid, 1954, pp. 14-20.

¹³ Cf. Shryock, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-201; Diepgen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II/1, pp. 23-28.

change under foreign influence. Liebig, who had studied in Paris, established in 1825 the first chemical laboratory at the small university of Giessen. A few years later Johannes Mueller, the central figure of German physiology, abandoned his early attachment to *Naturphilosophie* and became converted to the empirical method by studying the works of the Swedish chemist, Berzelius. About the same time the Vienna school of clinicians adopted the methods of investigation initiated by the Paris clinicians, and various learned journals began to propagate the new scientific approach in the medical sciences.¹⁴

Thus the French showed at least as much understanding of the value and the needs of scientific research as the Germans. It should not be assumed that this understanding suddenly declined around the middle of the century. The influentials of French science at that time, such as Dumas, and later Pasteur, Claude Bernard, and Victor Duruy, were certainly not less enlightened and brilliant than their German counterparts. In fact, they may have been more sympathetic to the needs of scientific research than German academic policy makers, since obscurantism was rather prevalent within both the faculties of the German universities and the governmental offices in charge of higher education.¹⁵ The greater expansion of German scientific facilities and the prompter recognition of new fields are therefore as much in need of explanation as the continuous growth in German discoveries.

The second condition—the presumably peculiar values and organization of the German university—is also a very doubtful explanation. The idea of academic freedom notwithstanding, atheists, Jews, and social-

¹⁴ Cf. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25; Shryock, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 195; Garrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-452.

¹⁵ See Guerlac, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-88 on France. On the relative backwardness of German academic administration, see Ervin H. Ackermann, *Rudolf Virchow: Doctor, Statesman, Anthropologist*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953, pp. 139-140; Samuel and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-130; Max Weber, *Jugendbriefe*, Tübingen: Mohr, n.d., pp. 151-152. In order to realize the amount of obscurantism and intolerance in German universities at the time it is useful to read the otherwise shallow work of Richard Graf du Moulin Eckart, *Geschichte der deutschen Universitaeten*, Stuttgart: Enke, 1929.

ists were often kept out of academic careers in Germany. Academic self-government was not necessarily enlightened: liberal scientists in the 1840s regarded it as an essentially retrograde arrangement. In fact, some of the most beneficial academic decisions—with relation to the growth of science—were taken by civil servants, most notably Friedrich Althoff, who interfered with academic self-government. Even the *Habilitationsschriften* were often rather mediocre pieces of research, and there was nothing in the constitution of the universities efficiently to prevent mediocre professors from confirming inferior theses.¹⁶

At the same time, the ideas as well as some of the arrangements said to be characteristic of the German universities also existed in France. Freedom of teaching already formed the core of the tradition at the Collège de France before the Revolution and was carried further than in the German universities. The ideals of pure research were formulated in French scientific ideology at least as clearly as in German and they were practiced and encouraged in a great many ways.¹⁷ There is no proof that the lack of the paraphernalia of academic self-government interfered with the research of French scientists more than in Germany. It is true that, compared with the *Habilitation*, the French *agrégation* and the system of open examinations seem to be inefficient ways of selecting people for academic careers. But there is little evidence that this irrelevant hurdle actually prevented potentially creative people from entering scientific careers. Moreover, there were other means, such as numerous prizes and public honors, which encouraged original research in France.¹⁸

¹⁶ Cf. Flexner, *op. cit.*, pp. 317–327; Samuel and Thomas, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ See Claude Bernard, *Morceaux Choisis, dirigé et préfacé par Jean Rostand*, Paris: Gallimard, 1938, pp. 16–18, for one of the most beautiful descriptions of the traditions of the freedom of teaching and research as it was practiced at the Collège de France. See also Ernest Lavissé, *Histoire de France*, Paris: Librairie Hachette, n.d., Vol. IX/1, p. 301, on the pioneering beginnings of the teaching of pure sciences in the same institution in the 1770s and 1780s.

¹⁸ For a good description of how the French system of examinations actually worked, see René Leriche, *Am Ende meines Lebens*, Bern und Stuttgart:

Decentralization has been written about much less than the first two conditions, partly because it was an unintended circumstance, and partly because its effect upon research is less immediately evident. The decentralization of the German academic system was the result of the political dismemberment of the German-speaking people. There were 19 independent universities in Germany proper, maintained by the princes of the numerous small states constituting Germany in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as well as German language universities in Switzerland, Austria (including the Czech provinces), and Dorpat in the Baltic Sea Provinces of Russia.¹⁹ At the same time the French boasted a unified academic system, most of it situated in Paris. Although some of the features of this centralization introduced by Napoleon were deplored, the central administration of science and academic institutions generally was considered to be desirable by French politicians of science.²⁰

Nevertheless, decentralization seems to have been the decisive factor in determining the differences in the scientific creativity of the two countries. It gave rise to academic competition, and competition forced upon the individual institutions decisions which would not have been made otherwise, or at least not made at that time. In all areas crucial to the development of the medical sciences German policies turned out to be in the long run more farsighted and bold than French policies, although the first initiative was often taken by the French.—What, then, was the actual competition and how did it influence the decisions about the crucial problems of academic policy?

gart: Huber, 1957, pp. 53–55. Leriche, like others, attributes the lack of originality of French medicine to the examinations. But his own account shows that the problem was rather the lack of career opportunities for young medical scientists (*ibid.*, p. 34).

¹⁹ With the addition of Strassburg in 1872 there were 20 universities in Germany. Cf. Christian v. Ferber, *Die Entwicklung des Lehrkörpers der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen 1864–1954*, Vol. III of Helmuth Plessner, editor, *Untersuchungen zur Lage der deutschen Hochschullehrer*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956, pp. 37–38. The German-language universities of Switzerland were Zürich, Bern, and Basel; and of Austria, Vienna, Prague, Graz, and Innsbruck.

²⁰ Cf. Guerlac, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–88.

THE CRUCIAL DECISIONS

Given the situation of the medical sciences (and perhaps of the sciences in general) at the beginning of the last century, the problem faced by the French and the German systems (and not confronted by Britain and the United States until later) was to find adequate criteria for the evaluation and support of science. The governments, and increasingly the people too (especially in France), believed in the value and usefulness of science. Academies, universities, and other institutions were set up everywhere, or rejuvenated where they existed before, in order to promote research and to disseminate knowledge. One of the aims of these institutions was to enable a selected few scientists, who had already proved their greatness, to devote all of their time to financially supported scientific research. But it was not intended to create in these institutions academic careers which one entered as in any other profession. The large majority of the scientists had independent means or a lucrative profession (very often medical practice, even in sciences not connected with medicine), and pursued their scientific interest in their free time, often at a considerable personal cost. This idealistic pattern seemed to fit perfectly that sacred pursuit of truth which was science. Academic appointments therefore were regarded as honors rather than careers, and turning science into an occupation would have seemed something like a sacrilege.

A corollary, in this amateur stage of science, was the absence of specialization. The great names of the early nineteenth century were those of generalists who were creative in more than one field. And the new scientific disciplines developed from their work. While it was increasingly believed that the new disciplines required specialists, the fact that they were opened up by generalists seemed to indicate that specialization was not really necessary. Moreover, there persisted the reluctance to abandon the conception of general science which explains to the adept all the secrets of nature. Thus there was considerable disinclination to substitute for the *savant* such narrow specialists as chemists, physiologists, and the like. And there was even more reluc-

tance to redefine such a traditionally unified field as medicine into a number of sub-specialties.

The second problem was the development of criteria for the support of research. Today it is still difficult of course to decide what constitutes adequate and sufficient support of research, but at least budgets can be drawn for determined purposes. At that time even this was impossible; since research was an unpredictable, erratic process, and important discoveries were made as often outside as inside the laboratories.

Finally, there was the question of training scientists. Until the second half and particularly the last quarter of the nineteenth century, science had few practical applications. Most of it was pure science benefitting no practice. Under these circumstances, to train every medical student, would-be chemist, and engineer in scientific research was about as justified as it would be today to teach every concertgoer advanced musical composition.²¹

These problems existed in both countries and were approached in France and Germany with the same concepts. Yet, to repeat, the long-term decisions made in France concerning all three problems were the opposite of those made in Germany.

Scientific careers and specialization.—The creation of regular careers in science and the recognition of specialized disciplines were closely connected problems. Both may be illustrated with the case of physiology, the most decisive science for the development of medicine in the nineteenth century.

As a systematic discipline, physiology emerged at the beginning of that century. François Magendie, considered to be the founder of experimental physiology, was professor of medicine. He established the new specialty and could follow it undisturbed (though practically unsupported) at the Collège de France, because of the full degree of academic freedom prevailing

²¹ On the state of science in the early nineteenth century, see Pledge, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-151. On scientists in the same period, see Elie Halévy, *History of England in 1815*, London: Pelican, 1938, Vol. 2, pp. 187-200; René J. Dubos, *Louis Pasteur: Franc-tireur de la science*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 3-4; and Diepgen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II/1, pp. 2-5, 66-69, 152-153.

in that institution. But his disciple, Claude Bernard, who became the most outstanding representative of the new field around the middle of the century, for many years had to use his private laboratory and private means to pursue his research. At last, against the opposition of those who regarded the new discipline as merely a branch of anatomy, a special chair was created for Bernard at the Sorbonne in 1854. Soon thereafter he also fell heir to Magendie's chair at the Collège de France and held both appointments until 1868; he then transferred his work to the Museum of Natural History, relinquishing the post at the Sorbonne to his disciple, Paul Bert.

The recognition of the discipline of physiology, however, did not create opportunities for purely scientific careers in the traditional field of medicine. In this connection, the only change was that after the retirement of the chair's incumbent a single successor would have to be found. This was not a prospect on the basis of which one could realistically take up research as a career. Therefore, potential scientists first had to build up a practice, and engaged in research as a part-time activity.²²

Thus, the academic career changed very little in France through the nineteenth century. Appointments were made from an undifferentiated group of practitioners—amateur scientists—and usually at a fairly advanced age. Even academically successful persons did not become full-time scientists before they reached their forties or fifties, and since the chair to be vacated was not known they had to maintain as broad interests and activities as possible. But in the second half of the century there was increasingly less chance for non-specialists to make important discoveries. French scientific productivity therefore declined even in fields pioneered by Frenchmen. Whenever a discipline reached the stage of development where its efficient pursuit required specialists, there was little chance that the

French system would produce such scientists.²³

Physiology as a science was received with more sympathy in Germany than in France, but its recognition as an academic specialty there also ran into difficulties. The man who did most for the introduction of the discipline to Germany, Johannes Mueller, was a generalist who taught, in addition to physiology, anatomy, ophthalmology, and surgery.²⁴ His eventual successor in Berlin, Du Bois-Reymond, had been refused one professorial chair after another because he was considered a mere specialist.²⁵ The early creation of a separate chair in physiology (for Purkinje in Breslau, 1839) had no general effect, and for some years physiology and anatomy continued to be taught by the same person in all other German universities. But pressure for the separation of the disciplines by the younger generation of scientists continued, and those with some bargaining power raised the demand when they were offered university chairs. Thus, when Carl Ludwig was offered a professorship at Zürich in 1849, he accepted it only on the condition that a separate teacher be appointed for anatomy;²⁶ thereafter the

²² See Rist, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–104, on the career of S. A. Sicard, who seems to have been a relatively lucky and successful scientist. When at the age of 51 he was appointed as professor he had to abandon his life-long interest and research in neurology because the vacant chair was designated for internal pathology, and course preparation in the new field required a great effort.

²³ Cf. K. E. Rothschuh, *Geschichte der Physiologie*, Berlin-Göttingen-Heidelberg: Springer, 1953, pp. 93, 112–118.

²⁴ George Rosen and Beate Caspary-Rosen, *400 Years of a Doctor's Life*, New York: Schuman, 1947, pp. 248–250; Ernst Gagliardi, Hans Nabholz and Jean Strohl, *Die Universität Zürich und ihre Vorläufer 1833–1933*, Zürich: Erziehungsdirektion, 1938, pp. 548–549.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 539–548. Virchow, who was also offered the chair, refused to accept it on the ground that he wished a chair for pathological anatomy exclusively (without teaching responsibilities in either surgical anatomy or physiology). In Ludwig's time the nominal unity of physiology and anatomy was still maintained; the separate teacher in anatomy was only an extraordinary professor. But when Ludwig left Zürich in 1855 and the position was offered to Koelliker, the chairs were finally separated upon the latter's suggestion (although Koelliker himself refused the job). For similar instances of creating new specialties at the

²² Cf. Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–157, 263–285; J. M. D. Olmsted, *Claude Bernard: Physiologist*, New York: Harper, 1938, pp. 51–89. For the situation at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Edouard Rist, *25 Portraits des médecins français, 1900–1950*, Paris: Masson, 1955, pp. 29–40.

recognition of the new discipline proceeded rapidly. No university could afford to neglect the new field, so that by 1864 there were already 15 full professors of physiology in Germany and several others in the wider system of German-language universities.²⁷ The separation of physiology from anatomy at this stage became the official policy of university administration. In some cases, where traditionally-minded incumbents were reluctant to abandon one of the disciplines, the separation was forced upon them by administrative pressure.²⁸

All of this led to a complete transformation of the scientific career in Germany. In spite of the strictures against narrowness and of the continuing lip-service paid to the image of the scientist who works because of devotion, science became a specialized and regularized occupation. As we have seen, success, fame, or even sheer enterprise had a good chance for reward. Once a new and fruitful field was recognized in one university, strong pressures led other universities to follow suit, thereby creating more opportunities for those willing to work in the new field. Therefore, it was possible—and for the very able also worthwhile—to concentrate after graduation on one well defined and promising field of research with the definite aim of a scientific career. Not only was it unnecessary first to build up a practice and to retain as general interest as possible, but if one had taken such a course his academic prospects would have been negligible in competition with the full-time specialists. Thus specialized science became a career, and the amateur general scientist disappeared in Germany.²⁹ This difference

same university in order to attract or retain teachers, see *ibid.*, pp. 562, 879.

²⁷ Cf. Von Ferber, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

²⁸ For example, Valentin in Bern, in 1865; see Bruno Kisch, *Forgotten Leaders in Modern Medicine*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1954, pp. 174-175.

²⁹ Max Weber, writing in 1918, regarded science as a most risky career; see his "Science as a Vocation," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, London: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 132-134. But, it should be realized that Weber was referring to a crisis situation in an already established discipline; the circumstances were much more hopeful in the middle of the nineteenth century. Of those who took their *Habilitation* between 1850 and 1859,

in career possibilities, not the distinction between *Habilitation* and *agrégation*, explains the greater research orientation of German than of French science.

The same mechanisms which explain the development of scientific roles also explain the development of facilities for research, and the introduction of scientific methods into the training of physicians. The creation of new facilities was part and parcel of the bargaining between universities and scientists. Facilities (laboratories, assistants, and so on) were offered to attract desirable candidates or to prevent scientists from moving elsewhere. The extension of facilities made possible, and to some extent made necessary, the training of a growing number of persons capable of doing research. Since not all such individuals could be given academic appointments in the basic medical sciences or otherwise, they used their research skills and interests to transform clinical medicine into an exact science. These processes and their results may be briefly illustrated.

Research facilities.—As has been pointed out, the French were the first to establish modern institutions for scientific training and research. But the facilities and arrangements established in France about 1800, considered to be ideal for their time, were hardly extended or changed until World War I or later. The Pasteur Institute, established in 1888, was the first independent research institute of the world. Again, it remained the only one in its field in France at least until World War I.³⁰

85 per cent received full-time academic appointments, while for those who received their *Habilitation* between 1900 and 1909 only 62 per cent received such posts. The corresponding proportions in medicine are 84 and 48 per cent, respectively. (This does not necessarily mean a relatively greater decline of research opportunities in medicine, because there were good research opportunities outside the universities in public hospitals.) See Von Ferber, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82, for the statistical data; and Adolf Struempell, *Aus dem Leben eines deutschen Klinikers*, Leipzig: Vogel, 1925, on the *Habilitation* as a preparation for a hospital career.

³⁰ The ideal arrangements of French medical schools in 1798 are noted in Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Concerning the quite different picture presented by French academic medicine early in this century, see Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in Europe*, New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1912, pp. 221-223; and

Thus in France a new type of organization was apt to remain a single show-piece for 50 years, while in Germany such novelties became routine features of the organization of research in a much shorter time. By the 1840s there were apparently more and better chemical laboratories in Germany than in France, and by the sixties the contrast was extreme. At a time when it was an achievement for Pasteur to obtain any (and most inadequate) laboratory facilities, the Prussian government build new laboratories at Bonn and Berlin (the Bonn laboratory, for example, could accommodate more than 60 students) equipped with the most up-to-date facilities, and the older ones probably were also more adequate than anything that existed elsewhere. And there were good laboratories at other universities in Germany.³¹

There were similar differences between Germany and France in the development of facilities for medical research and of specialized research institutions. The New Vienna School of clinical research began in the thirties, and its facilities seem to have been modest even until midcentury. But there were gradual improvements in one place after another, and by the sixties there evolved fairly uniform standards which made it possible to conduct clinical research with the aid of adequate laboratory facilities in a number of places.³² Finally, the establishment of specialized research institutions became a matter of routine in Germany soon after the beginnings made in France. They became a tool regularly used by the universities' administrations, the governments, and local bodies to encourage and develop the work of famous scientists.³³

Scientific training.—The differences in the development of medical training were no less conspicuous. The fact that until about the 1880s all the great advances in the basic medical sciences contributed little to the

Leriche, *op. cit.*, p. 34. On the Pasteur Institute, see Guerlac, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

³¹ Cf. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, p. 80; and Dubos, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 78-79.

³² Cf. Diepgen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II/1, pp. 207-209; on the situation in the 1860s, see Theodor Billroth, *The Medical Sciences in the German Universities*, New York: Macmillan, 1924, p. 27; and at the turn of the century, Flexner, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-166.

³³ Cf. Flexner, *op. cit.*, 1930, pp. 31-35.

cure of illness largely explains the persistent and overwhelming emphasis on the practical art of medicine rather than on its few scientific bases in the training of the student-physician. Indeed, apprenticeship and bedside demonstrations were the most important parts of medical training in France, England, and the United States.³⁴

Only in Germany did the training of the doctor become a privilege of scientists. By the 1860s even clinical chairs were given exclusively to people with attainment in research rather than to outstanding practitioners. And from the middle of the century, even public hospitals were increasingly staffed by doctors both interested and trained in research. Thus much earlier than elsewhere (possibly prematurely), medicine in Germany became an applied science.³⁵ As a result, when the great opportunities for clinical research arose, following the discovery of the bacteriological causation of illness and the perfection of anesthesia and aseptic surgery, there were in Germany enough doctors trained in research to take full advantage of the opportunity, and to transform public (even non-teaching) hospitals into veritable institutions of applied medical science.³⁶

DECENTRALIZATION AND COMPETITION

Thus, regarding all three crucial decisions—developing scientific facilities, creating scientific roles, and training larger numbers of research personnel than were justified by existing practical needs—the German system "behaved" with uncanny foresight. It has been shown that this foresight was not the result of greater individual wisdom. It was the result of competition due to the

³⁴ Cf. Diepgen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II/1, pp. 212-214; Vol. II/2, pp. 154-155, 286-288; Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education: A Comparative Study*, New York: Macmillan, 1925, pp. 211-212, 241, 248.

³⁵ Diepgen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II/1, pp. 152-153. See also Theodor Billroth, *loc. cit.*; Bernhard Naunyn, *Erinnerungen, Gedanken und Meinungen*, Munich: Bergmann, 1925, pp. 375-376.

³⁶ There was a parallel development in chemistry. There too the availability of relatively large numbers of trained chemists afforded Germany the opportunity to build up within a short time a chemical industry based on applied science, after the discovery of the aniline dyes made the practical application of science a permanent possibility; cf. Cardwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-137, 186-187.

unintended decentralization of the German system.

"Competition" in this paper refers to the general condition underlying all the processes described above: it is a situation in which no single institution is able to lay down standards for the system of institutions within which people (in this case students and teachers) are relatively free to move from one place to another. Under such circumstances, university administrators required neither exceptional boldness nor foresight for continually expanding facilities and training, and for creating new scientific jobs. There was little if any need for fateful individual decisions. Improvements and innovations had to be made from time to time in order to attract famous men or keep them from leaving. In this way, laboratories and institutions were founded, assistantships provided, new disciplines recognized, and scientific jobs created. These innovations were repeated throughout the system because of pressure from scientists and students in general, irrespective of practical needs and of what a few scientific influentials thought.

If competition inevitably brought about the adoption of fruitful innovations in the universities, it also forced them to correct mistakes and to eliminate traditions which retarded scientific development. This process has been shown in the case of the separation of physiology from anatomy and the introduction of scientific criteria in clinical training in Germany.

BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The similarities, differences, and differential effects observed in the cases of France and Germany were, in essentials, repeated in the cases of Britain and the United States.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, British—and soon after, American educators—scientists, and administrators displayed increasing interest in the organization of science in Germany. Scientists and intellectuals who visited Germany returned home enthusiastic about German academic life, and soon German university training became a standard preparation for scientific careers among British scientists.³⁷

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Consequently British universities, though retaining certain traditions, introduced measures to bring themselves in line with German standards and practices. Oxford and Cambridge, which until the 1860s were training centers primarily for the rich and the clergy, began to emerge as institutions of empirical science and positive scholarship pursued in an atmosphere of academic freedom and autonomy. The newer University of London and the universities in the provinces imitated the German pattern even more closely and were imbued, from the beginning, with the spirit of empirical science.

The rapid growth of the modern academic system also began in the United States in the 1860s. The Land Grant Act passed in 1862 and other circumstances brought about a large increase in the number of American colleges and universities between the sixties and the eighties.³⁸ In the present context, the most important events were the rise of the graduate schools in the seventies, and in the following decade the establishment of Johns Hopkins Medical School which was directly influenced by the German example.³⁹ Eventually older institutions such as Harvard also abandoned certain traditions derived from pre-nineteenth century England and adopted new methods in imitation of the German.⁴⁰

In this development of a system of up-to-date institutions for medical research and training Britain had most of the advantages over the United States, similar to those possessed by France over Germany at the beginning of the century. The British began the adoption of the German patterns earlier, and they began from a higher level than did the Americans.⁴¹ Nevertheless, while the effect of the academic reform on British

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³⁹ Cf. Flexner, *Universities . . . , op. cit.*, p. 73; and Abraham Flexner, *I Remember*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940, pp. 63-64.

⁴⁰ Cf. Edward D. Churchill, *To Work in the Vineyards of Surgery: The Reminiscences of J. Collins Warren (1842-1927)*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 193-197, 257-271.

⁴¹ Cf. Newman, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 276; Cardwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-51, 80, 103-107, 110-114, 118-119, 134-137, and *passim*. Flexner, *Universities . . . , op. cit.*, pp. 46-65; Richard H. Shryock, *American Medical Research: Past and Present*, New York: New York Academy of Medicine, 1947, pp. 106-108, 118-119.

science was slow and partial, in America it produced a conspicuous rise in scientific creativity.

That the social mechanisms at work in these cases were similar to those involved in our first pair of comparisons can be illustrated best by the organization of clinical research and the creation of clinical chairs. Attempts to copy the Germans by making hospital departments into virtual research establishments and filling the clinical chairs according to criteria of scientific achievement ran into serious opposition in both countries. They seemed like an infringement on the rights of the profession, whose members had run the teaching hospitals independently of the universities, and it also seemed to be endangering the charitable purpose of the hospitals. Therefore, when Oxford and Cambridge decided to overhaul their medical training programs along German lines, they confined themselves to the basic departments and sent their students to continue their clinical studies in the hospital medical schools of London. This division was a decision in favor of preserving the traditions of the professional fraternities attached to the various public hospitals and of the philanthropic bodies which governed these hospitals. Of course, it could also have been justified by the aim to keep apart pure research and professional practice.⁴² However, *a priori* reasons for incorporating the teaching hospitals in the universities and staffing them on the basis of attainments in research might have been advanced. As shown above, this was one of the problems which could not at that time be decided on *a priori* logical grounds; only future experience could indicate the effective choice.

The conditions for acquiring the needed experience existed in England, since there were approximations of a proper university hospital and university clinical departments in the London University College Medical School (founded as early as 1836), and

similar opportunities arose when the provincial universities were established.⁴³ Yet, instead of representing competing alternatives, none of these departments ventured further than the model established by the Oxford-Cambridge-London triangle; that is, their clinical departments were run by local practitioners as practical training centers rather than being organized as university departments engaged in research and staffed by persons selected on the basis of scientific eminence. This was quite different from the situation in Germany, where, for example, the little University of Giessen successfully pioneered in establishing its chemical laboratory, imitated later by universities of much greater prestige. It also differed from the innovation of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, where a full-scale medical faculty that included basic as well as clinical departments was established—a pattern that was followed by other universities and led to a rapid transformation of American medicine reminiscent of German, notwithstanding the strength of a professional and philanthropic tradition similar to that of Britain.⁴⁴

All this shows unequivocally that the British system was not competitive. Yet seemingly it was decentralized, since universities and public hospitals were private institutions financed and governed in a variety of ways, as in the United States. In fact, however, Britain also had a centralized system, though centralized in a somewhat different way than that of the French. The provincial universities did not begin to confer degrees until 1880 (with the exception of Durham, established in 1831) and their status, as well as the status of London University, never reached that of the two ancient universities. The system was totally overshadowed by the Oxford-Cambridge duopoly, which, in spite of differences in

⁴² Cf. Flexner, *Universities . . . , op. cit.*, pp. 242-244.

⁴³ Cf. Donald H. Fleming, *William Welch and the Rise of Modern Medicine*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1954, pp. 173 ff. On competition in American academic life in general, see Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man*, London: Oxford University Press, 1942, pp. 157-174, 186-191, 195-214; and Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace*, New York: Basic Books, 1958.

⁴² Cf. "The First Hundred Years: Notes on the History of the Association," extracts from Ernest M. Little, "History of the Association," *British Medical Journal*, 1932, 1, pp. 672-676; A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, *The Professions*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933, p. 87; Flexner, *Medical Education . . . , op. cit.*, p. 28; Newman, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50, 133 ff.

matters of religion and politics, represented basically similar educational philosophies and academic policies.⁴⁵ The special position of these two institutions was maintained in large part by their unwritten exclusive right of educating the political, administrative, ecclesiastical, and professional elite of the nation. In the case of medicine, the two universities were, as we have seen, connected with the leading medical corporations of London, whose members traditionally received their pre-professional education in "Oxbridge." Thus the centralization of academic life, which in France was the result of administrative design, was achieved in England through the more subtle functions of a class system, in which academic institutions like people "were kept in their place" through internalized traditions and networks of semi-formalized bonds among persons, groups, and independent organizations.

The United States, then, provides a case similar to the German, where competition within a decentralized system encouraged the establishment of specialized research roles and facilities. The usefulness and the necessity of such roles and facilities in the clinical field were not yet generally recognized at the turn of the twentieth century (in spite of the already existent German examples), and there was strong resistance against them in Britain as well as in the United States. At this time, like medical scientists (or natural scientists) in general, clinicians were still conceived as primarily practitioners and only secondarily as scientists. Thus the problem of transforming the practitioner-amateur scientist role into a scientific career in the clinical field was similar to the earlier problem of the creation of scientific roles in general. At this stage as in the previous one, competition was the decisive factor in the emergence of the new career.

⁴⁵ Cf. Flexner, *Universities . . . , op. cit.*, p. 249; Bruce Truscot, *Red Brick University*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1951, pp. 19-29. See also R. K. Kelsall, *Higher Civil Servants in Britain*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956, p. 137, on the preservation of the educational duopoly in another field; as late as 1950, 47.3 per cent of British civil servants in the ranks of Assistant Secretary and above had attended Oxford or Cambridge.

CONCLUSION

The continuous growth in the curves of German discoveries during the middle decades of the nineteenth century and in the American curves starting from the 1880s is thus attributed to the extent to which these societies exploited, through enterprise and organizational measures, the possibilities inherent in the state of science. They were quicker than France and Britain in the recognition of new disciplines, the creation of specialized scientific jobs and facilities for research, and the introduction of large-scale systematic training for research. They were also quicker to abandon traditional notions which had lost their usefulness. None of these conditions alone could have sustained scientific growth for a long period of time. It was no coincidence, however, that they went together, since a common underlying factor, competition, determined the crucial decisions concerning all of these conditions in the two decentralized systems. Successful scientists were rewarded with university chairs and facilities. Their success encouraged others to take up science and, incidentally, transformed the pursuit of science into a regular professional career; it created pressure for further expansion of facilities and training, and exposed the inadequacies of out-of-date traditions.

This interpretation of the curve of scientific discoveries, according to which their growth was due to increased opportunities for entering research careers (and not, for example, to better selection of scientists), is also consistent with the differences between the countries shown in the second index based on the numbers of discoverers. As pointed out earlier, beginning in 1835 in Germany and in 1860 in the United States, the growth in the numbers of those entering upon scientific careers became continuous, while in France and Britain there were fluctuations over the whole period. Continuous growth represents a situation in which research becomes a regular career; fluctuations, a situation in which research to a large extent is a spontaneous activity engaged in by people as the spirit moves them.

In conclusion, some of the implications and problems raised by the existence of a

positive relationship between scientific productivity and academic competition may be noted. According to the present explanation, this relationship is due to the impetus provided by competition for entering promising but undeveloped fields of research. This, however, suggests that the growth of discoveries in any field may be limited by the capacity for expansion of the institutional framework (jobs and facilities), a suggestion which seems to be worth further exploration.⁴⁶

Another question concerns the *quality* of the impetus given to science by competition. The present hypothesis suggests that competition increases the gross amount of discoveries of all kinds through the thorough exploitation of potentially fruitful fields of research. It says nothing about the conditions conducive to the creation of fundamentally new ideas, and it is quite possible

that the social conditions that stimulate basic innovations differ from those that facilitate the exploitation of fruitful ideas already discovered.⁴⁷

Finally, nothing has been said about the conditions that maintain scientific competition. Political decentralization gave rise to competition in Germany, and political decentralization enhanced by private financing and administration of higher education led to competition in the United States. It is not argued, however, that competition is the only possible outcome of any state of decentralization, or that competition, once established, is self-maintaining. Decentralization may lead to collusion or mutual isolation as well as to competition; and competition may be replaced by either of these alternatives. Determination of the general conditions that ensure competition, therefore, is another problem which needs further study.

⁴⁶ This is the subject matter of A. Zloczower, "Career Opportunities and Scientific Growth in 19th Century Germany with Special Reference to the Development of Physiology," unpublished M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, 1960.

⁴⁷ Cf. Joseph Ben-David, "Roles and Innovations in Medicine," *American Journal of Sociology*, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 557-568.

WESTERN IMPACT AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN CHINA *

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The high degree of social mobility in traditional China was achieved through the instrumentality of the civil service examinations. Under Western impact, the examinations were abolished and a modern school system was established, with study abroad as its de facto culminating stage. Whereas the cost of education was low in the old days, it became inordinately high under the new system. Study abroad in particular was the privilege of a small group of men from official, professional, and mercantile families. Because the Western-educated men had far better opportunity for advancement than had the Chinese-trained, the change from the old system resulted in greatly decreased social mobility and in a change in the channel of mobility. Both factors have powerfully affected the broad trend of social and political changes in China.

Most scholars agree that there was a high degree of social mobility in traditional China. The chief means of upward mobility were the civil service examinations, which were virtually open to

all. Education was relatively inexpensive, and once a scholar passed the examination

and the Committee on Social Thought of the University of Chicago. Many other scholars have helped me with their criticisms and suggestions, especially Earl H. Pritchard whose countless hours at the task saved me from many errors. For stylistic improvement I owe much to George Froben and Philip Secor. None of these men is responsible for any defects of the paper, an abridged version of which was read at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, 1960.

* This paper summarizes one aspect of my work on the impact on China of Chinese educated abroad. All of the computation is my own; it is not possible to present all the statistical abstracts or to give full documentation. The project was made possible by the generous encouragement of F. A. Hayek

at the provincial or national level, he joined the privileged group and assumed a leadership role in society. Downward mobility resulted from the failure of men to perpetuate the literary tradition of their family and inability to pass the examinations.

Statistical evidence attests to the fluidity of social status. An analysis by Kracke of 931 individuals who passed the metropolitan examinations in 1148 and 1256 reveals that close to 60 per cent lacked a family tradition of civil service (defined as the holding of office by father, grandfather, or great-grandfather).¹ Research by P'an Kuang-tan and Fei Hsiao-t'ung on 915 degree-holders in the late Manchu dynasty shows that more than 41 per cent came from rural areas and well over 30 per cent had no family tradition of civil service.² A detailed study by Chung-li Chang indicates that at least 35 per cent of the gentry in the nineteenth century were "new-comers," that is, neither their fathers nor grandfathers had held gentry status.³ Using an entirely different method, Hsu made a study of 7,359 prominent individuals mentioned in the gazetteers of four widely separated districts in China, and found that roughly 50 per cent of these men came from unknown origins and that roughly 80 per cent of their descendants beyond the grandson generation were also unknown. Hsu therefore concluded that a high degree of social mobility existed in China during the last thousand years.⁴ More recently, Ho studied some 10,000 advanced and 20,000 intermediate successful candidates of civil service examinations during the Ming and the Ch'ing (1368-1911), concluding that "probably more careers ran 'from rags to riches' in Ming and Ch'ing China than in modern Western societies."⁵

¹ E. A. Kracke, Jr., "Family vs. Merit in Chinese Civil Service Examinations Under the Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 10 (September, 1947), pp. 103-121.

² "Civil Service Examinations and Social Mobility," *Social Science*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1-21 (in Chinese).

³ *The Chinese Gentry*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955, pp. 214-216.

⁴ Francis L. K. Hsu, "Social Mobility in China," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (November, 1949), pp. 764-771.

⁵ Ping-ti Ho, "Aspects of Social Mobility in China, 1368-1911," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 (June, 1959), pp. 330-359.

Using these findings as a point of departure, one may ask how modern China in the first half of the twentieth century has fared with respect to social mobility. This paper seeks to show that under Western impact China had far less social mobility than before. This is established by an examination of the following circumstances: First, with the abolition of the civil service examinations in 1905, the old channel of social mobility no longer existed. An institution, serving as something of a substitute, arose, namely, the new educational system, with study abroad as its highest stage in fact if not in name. Second, the men educated abroad, particularly those who studied in the United States, had substantial advantages in gaining employment over those who had only Chinese college degrees. Third, the class origin of the "returned students" is also discussed. The paper concludes with some observations on the possible implications of these findings for a general understanding of Chinese society.

THE NEW SOCIAL LADDER

The modern educational system in China, patterned on Japanese and Western models, was established in 1902, and the old civil service examinations were abolished in 1905. From then on graduation from a school or college carried the same significance for a Chinese as passing a civil service examination had had in earlier times. In order to promote modern education, the Chinese government purposely made it a means to fame and power. As early as 1904, the Manchu court authorized awards for school graduates at various levels. The following are some sample provisions:⁶

	Official Degree	Substantive Appointment
College graduates	<i>Chin-shih</i> (Ph.D.)	Positions in the Han-lin Academy
Graduates of profes- sional and technical schools	<i>Chü-jen</i> (M.A.)	<i>Hsien</i> (county) magistrate
Graduates of higher primary schools	<i>Sheng-yuan</i> (B.A.)	None

⁶ Shu Hsin-ch'eng, *Documentary Materials in Chinese Educational History*, Shanghai: Chung-hwa, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 63-74 (in Chinese).

These regulations were later amended to include and to give emphasis to study abroad. Between 1905 and 1911, metropolitan examinations patterned on the old system but open only to the "returned students" were held annually, and successful candidates rapidly climbed the mandarin's nine-rung ladder.

The official effort to promote modern education had two immediate consequences: First, education became associated in the public mind with the diploma and the diploma with official and other types of advancement. Second, study abroad was the decisive stage of education. A trip abroad and the possession of a foreign degree were the aspiration of all Chinese students. Among the foreign degrees, the Euro-American carried highest prestige, the Japanese less so, though the latter were ranked above Chinese degrees. The prestige of the "returned student" was such that a person often made a trip abroad even when he had no intention of studying for a degree; the mere fact that he had been abroad often enabled him to pass as a *bona fide* foreign-trained man.

While accurate statistics are lacking, the following estimates give some idea of the relative numbers of Chinese trained in various countries:⁷

Japan (1896-1937)	37,000
U.S.A. (1854-1929) appx.	6,700
U.S.A. (1854-1953)	20,906
Great Britain (1876-1953)	2,200
France (1876-1937)	6,000
Germany (1876-1937)	3,000
Other countries	3,000
College graduates in China (1912-1946)	185,729

⁷ The figures for Chinese students in the United States are taken from *A Survey of Chinese Students in American Universities and Colleges in the Past One Hundred Years*, New York: China Institute in America, 1954, p. 32. The figure for Chinese college graduates appears in the *Chinese Statistical Yearbook*, 1947, p. 324 (in Chinese). All other figures are my own estimates based on incomplete but actual records in various sources. The figure for Chinese in Japan includes only those persons who had studied in Japan for four years or more; if all students who went to Japan are counted, the figure is at least 100,000. No similar restriction is adopted in the computation of the other groups.

PROMINENCE OF THE FOREIGN-EDUCATED MEN

Two groups of materials are available to show the privileged position of the foreign-educated in China. The first of these consists largely of life-histories and various historical documents which cannot easily be summarized. These will be elaborated here only in two instances. The first concerns the earliest Chinese students who came to this country in 1871-1874 and who returned to China in 1881.⁸ These were young boys of whom, at the time of their recall, only two or three of a total of 120, had graduated from college. China's reception of them was chilly at first, but after the turn of the century, when Western influences mounted these men rapidly gained prominence. Of the 120, 22 died young, seven were killed in action in the wars of 1885 and 1894, five became expatriates and settled in the United States, two worked for the United States consular service, four for British concerns in China, two were men of means, and the careers of two are unknown. The remaining 76 entered government service, of whom eight reached the rank of cabinet minister or its equivalent, eight others achieved some other sort of national fame, and nearly all the rest reached a senior rank, mostly as district head of the telegraph service or as head of a national railroad.⁹

⁸ The most complete published work on these early Chinese government students is T. E. LaFargue, *China's First Hundred*, Pullman: State College of Washington, 1942. However, I have supplemented this source with materials lent to me by Mrs. Gertrude Tong of Washington, D. C., to whom I am indebted. Mrs. Tong is a daughter of the late Mr. Yung Kwai, one of the early students.

⁹ At the time this group of 120 students was sent to the United States, few well-to-do Chinese were anxious to go abroad; these 120 students all came from poor families. When in 1881 the educational mission to America was judged a failure by Chinese scholar-bureaucrats, one cause of the failure was seen to lie in the initial recruitment of students from such families. Thus a well-known reformist-official, Huang Tsun-hsien, wrote a poem of which we quote the following stanza (as translated by William Hung, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 18 [June, 1955], p. 53):

The ignorant country lads, having seen little before,
Are easily swayed by such strange luxuries.
When a letter comes from home, telling of poverty
And asking "How are you now doing?"

Another indication of the status of persons educated abroad is the salary scale of the Commercial Press, a large publishing company and one of the few major business concerns in China. There were five different salary levels for the editorial staff: a Chinese college graduate with some experience received 80 dollars a month and used a desk three feet by one and one-half feet in size; a graduate of a Japanese college, 100-120 dollars and a desk of three by two feet; a graduate of a Japanese imperial university, 150 dollars and a four by two and one-half foot desk with book shelves, a crystal ink stand, and a rattan chair; a graduate of a Western college, 200 dollars and the same physical perquisites as in the previous category; finally, a graduate of Harvard, Yale, Oxford, or Cambridge received 250 dollars and used a custom-made desk and a guest chair in addition to the other perquisites. According to eye-witness reports, this scale was rigidly applied regardless of the personal ability of the employee.¹⁰ The practice probably began in the early years of the Republic and persisted until 1927, when a more flexible policy was adopted by the firm. While few other concerns had so rigid a practice, high regard for Western-trained men seems to have been general.

The second group of materials comes from two sources, the 1925 edition of *Who's Who in China* (Shanghai: *China Weekly Review*), which contains a special section on 584 students who had returned from America, and the alumni register of Tsinghua University of 1937, which lists 1,152 re-

The answer is "I eat two chickens a day;
I recall not how you burnt the door to cook
the hen for a parting feast.
You say you have no more cereals;
Well, why not just eat meat?"

(Chickens and meat are luxury food in China and far more expensive than cereals. The last two lines also contain an allusion to a Chinese emperor who became famous for his imbecility in suggesting that people suffering from a famine of cereals should eat meat.) The reluctance of the well-to-do to go abroad gradually diminished and almost disappeared after 1895. The situation eventually became such that only the wealthy went abroad to study while the poor, though equally keen, had little opportunity to do so.

¹⁰ Tao Hsi-Iseng, "A Story of the Desk," *Tzu Yu Tan*, Formosa, Vol. 4, No. 9, p. 8 (in Chinese). Unless otherwise specified, all dollars are in Chinese currency.

cipients of full scholarships between 1909 and 1929. On the basis of information contained in *Who's Who*, the 584 persons were classified into seven categories. The "prominent" category includes college presidents, heads of major railroads, department chiefs in ministries, bureau directors in provincial governments, managers of large banks, executives of business concerns operating on a national scale, and professors who were recognized authorities in their fields in China. The "good" category includes headmasters of reputable high schools, managers of smaller banks, section chiefs in ministries, full-fledged engineers, college professors, accountants, lawyers, and physicians—except in those cases where individual status justifies a higher classification. The third category, "fair," includes civil servants below the rank of section chief, assistant managers of smaller banks, tellers in major banks, college instructors, and engineer assistants.¹¹ People whose positions were ranked lower than the third level—in terms of remuneration, security, and prestige—are classified as "poor." In addition, there are the "housewives," "unemployed," and "unknown."

The source we use gives neither the length of the listee's study in America nor the year of his return to China. However, it appears that when the data were compiled in 1925, the listees had returned to China between one and nine years earlier, with an average of six years. During this period, a large number of them reached positions of responsibility, as can be seen from the following figures:

	No.	Per cent
Prominent	19	3.9
Good	353	71.6
Fair	41	8.3
Poor	2	.4
Unemployed	78	15.8
Sub-total	493	100.0
Housewives	13	
Exact position unknown	78	
Total	584	

Of the two men in the "poor" category, one held a mediocre position in the Chinese

¹¹ The positions listed may appear somewhat incongruous by American standards, but they seem to have been roughly comparable in China.

TABLE 1. PROMINENCE OF AMERICAN-TRAINED CHINESE IN CHINA IN 1937
BY INITIAL YEAR OF STUDY IN AMERICA

	Initial Year							
	1909-11	1912-14	1915-17	1918-20	1921-23	1924-26	1927-29	1909-29
Prominent	15.2%	16.3%	16.3%	12.0%	6.8%	5.1%	3.1%	9.9%
Good	48.2	51.4	48.6	57.1	59.9	47.2	47.3	52.0
Fair	11.0	13.8	20.7	18.8	22.2	31.5	34.9	22.3
Poor							2.3	.3
Unemployed	25.6 (100)	18.7 (100)	14.4 (100)	12.0 (100)	11.1 (100)	16.2 (100)	12.4 (100)	15.5 (100)
Sub-total in number	164	80	111	191	207	197	129	1,079
Deceased	16	13	6	11	13	9	5	73
Total in number	180	93	117	202	220	206	134	1,152

diplomatic service abroad. (Because positions abroad were attractive to many Chinese, it often happened that a person preferred a low position overseas to a high one at home. Whether or not the present case was in this category is unknown.)

The high rate of unemployment may be explained in two ways: the Western-educated men usually came from wealthy families and chose not to work; though some such men desired to work, they held out for "good" jobs and refused those below their own expectations. The latter possibility was a frequent occurrence in China,¹² and was more often a manifestation of frustrated ambition than an indication of the society's low regard for these men.

The composition of the 1,152 men listed in the Tsinghua alumni register is not entirely parallel to that of the 1925 group. The latter includes female students but no deceased persons, while the Tsinghua register includes the deceased but no females. The two groups overlap, however, and both seem to be representative of the American-trained in China. Information available in the Tsinghua data enabled the tabulation of the group by the initial year of study in America. The data presented in Table 1 suggests a correlation between seniority and degree of success.¹³

¹² See, e.g., *Chinese Students' Monthly*, Vol. 13, pp. 20-28.

¹³ The average age of the 1909-1911 group was a little under 50 in 1937, and the average number of degrees held by its members was 1.4. The 1915-1917 group averaged six years younger and held 1.5 degrees per individual.

The percentages of the "poor" and the "unemployed" were almost unchanged between 1925 and 1937. During the same period, however, the "prominent" and the "fair" increased at the expense of the "good." Two explanations are possible. First, as the number of college graduates and "returned students" increased over the years, the American-trained were faced with more competition and had less opportunity to start with a good job. Second, as their working experience increased, the American-trained had increasingly to stand on their own performance rather than on their initial formal qualifications. Consequently, a polarization took place: the men of ability rose while those of less capacity tended to drift downwards. The small percentage of the "poor" in 1937 indicates that the American-trained continued to enjoy favorable treatment in employment, but at a lower level than before.

Another way to study the problem is to examine the proportions of foreign-educated men among the top leaders in various walks of life in China. For this purpose, four specific fields were examined. Listing in *Who's Who* was taken as a criterion of general prominence. Political importance was assumed to be indicated by the occupancy of certain offices in central and provincial governments. It was assumed that faculty membership in two universities and Fellowship in the Academia Sinica signify academic leadership. For business prominence, bankers, industrialists, and general merchants, taken from lists in the most authoritative sources available, were used. Where little

TABLE 2. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF LISTEES IN WHO'S WHO BY COUNTRY OF STUDY AND SELECTED YEARS

Country of Study	1916	1923	1932	1939
China only				
Classical education ¹	35.0%	27.3%	7.8%	5.8%
Modern schools	13.4	15.4	10.8	13.5
Militarists ²	2.1	4.8	12.6	9.7
Sub-total	50.5	47.5	31.2	29.0
Abroad				
Japan	33.7	29.5	20.3	15.4
U.S.A.	9.5	12.9	31.3	36.2
England	1.6	2.0	3.2	6.4
Other countries	4.7	8.2	14.0	13.0
Sub-total	49.5	52.5	68.8	71.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total, numbers ³	380	689	591	638

¹ Classical education refers to persons with no formal schooling, but who either held an old civil service examination degree, or were renowned classical scholars, or were known to have pursued classical studies.

² A militarist is defined as one whose official position was derived largely from his hold on the army. Such persons generally had little formal education but often acquired some kind of formal academic qualifications after they had reached prominence. There being no way to determine the illiterate militarists despite the academic qualifications listed, all of them are placed in a special group.

³ These numbers exclude the educationally unknown, of whom there are 144, 188, 87, and 56 in 1916, 1923, 1932, and 1939, respectively.

biographical data accompanied the names in the listings, supplementary information was sought from other sources.

General prominence.—The *Who's Who* contained in *The China Yearbook*, edited by the British journalist H. G. W. Woodhead, is the only such listing issued consecutively from 1912 to 1939, and therefore was used. (The findings derived from this source are cross-checked with two other listings below.) The sample years selected for examination are 1916, 1923, 1932, and 1939, each falling in a different political epoch but otherwise chosen at random. The findings, as displayed in Table 2, point not only to the high percentage of the foreign-educated cited in *Who's Who* but more importantly to the steady increase of this percentage through the years. Furthermore, this increase was confined to men trained in America and Europe.

In order to cross-check the data, the *Who's Who* published by *The China Weekly Review* in 1925-1927 and 1931 and that published by Liang Yu Book Company (in Chinese) were used, and the results are shown in Table 3. Comparisons of Tables 2 and 3 indicate the essential similarities of all three *Who's Whos*. Despite the enormous expansion of the Chinese school sys-

tem between 1912 and 1939, when the aggregate number of Chinese college graduates increased by some 250-fold,¹⁴ in 1931-1932 there were fewer Chinese-trained than foreign-educated among the men listed in *Who's Who* in China. Among the "returned

¹⁴ *Chinese Statistical Yearbook*, 1947, pp. 314 ff. (in Chinese).

TABLE 3. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF LISTEES IN TWO OTHER WHO'S WHOS BY COUNTRY OF STUDY AND SELECTED YEARS

Country of Study	China		Liang Yu
	Weekly Edition	1925-27	1931
China only			
Classical education	—	—	11.9%
Modern schools	—	—	9.6
Militarists	—	—	19.3
Sub-total	38.0%	37.0%	40.8
Abroad			
Japan	17.3	14.4	18.0
U.S.A.	29.1	35.7	28.4
England	5.2	5.5	4.3
Other countries	10.4	7.4	8.5
Sub-total	62.0	63.0	59.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sub-total, numbers	519	827	3,320
Unknown	41	133	779
Total, numbers	560	960	4,099

students," those educated in America easily led the field, while those trained in Japan trailed at a distance. Since there were then probably five times as many Japanese-trained as American-trained in China, the individual advantage enjoyed by the latter was considerable.

The three *Who's Whos* do show some differences in the percentage of the Chinese-trained for the years 1931-1932: 40.8 per cent in the Liang Yu, 37.0 per cent in the *China Weekly*, and 31.2 per cent in the Woodhead editions. The discrepancy suggests bias on the part of the two latter listings in favor of the foreign-educated in China. However, further examination shows that the numerical strength of the Chinese-trained in the Liang Yu listing is derived from the inclusion of a large number of militarists most of whom had little formal education. As to those educated in Chinese schools, the percentage is actually higher in the Woodhead than in the Liang Yu listing—10.8 against 9.6. Because the coverage of the Liang Yu edition is far more comprehensive than that of the Woodhead, some difference in percentages is to be expected. The very small difference actually found seems to indicate that the Woodhead edition is an adequate indicator of general prominence in China.

Comparing the 1927 and 1931 issues of the *China Weekly* edition, the gain of the American-trained group and the decline of both the Chinese- and Japanese-trained groups between these two years are notable (see Table 3). A similar trend between

1923 and 1932 is also shown by the Woodhead edition.

Government leaders.—These men of political prominence may be divided into two categories: (1) the central government group, which includes, under the old Peking regime, the President and the cabinet members, and, under the Kuomintang, the Chairman of the national government, the heads of the five *Yuan*, and the ministers in the Executive *Yuan*—roughly the equivalent of the cabinet; and (2) the provincial group, which includes only the heads of provinces.

As shown in Table 4, the percentages of the foreign-educated among the central government leaders increased noticeably between 1923 and 1932, the period during which political power shifted from the Peking government to the Kuomintang regime. After 1932, as high as 71 to 80 per cent of the leading government officials were foreign-educated. While the distribution of various foreign-educated groups followed no fixed pattern, the political opportunities of the Western-educated were better than those of the Japanese-trained men in proportion to their respective numbers in China. The success of the Japanese-trained in becoming government officials appears to have been associated with the status of the diplomatic relations between China and Japan: the more Japan was a factor in Chinese politics at any given time, the more men with such training there were in the central government in the following period.

Among the provincial leaders, the percent-

TABLE 4. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF CHINESE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS BY COUNTRY OF STUDY AND SELECTED YEARS¹

	1915	1923	1932	1937	1943	1947
China only	58.0%	42.0%	22.0%	25.0%	20.0%	25.0%
Abroad	42.0	58.0	78.0	75.0	80.0	71.0
Japan	8.4	41.8	30.0	37.5	40.0	20.6
U.S.A.	16.8	—	16.4	18.8	24.8	20.6
Europe	8.4	8.1	30.0	12.7	15.2	21.3
Any combination of the above	8.4	8.1	5.6	6.0	—	8.5
Unknown	—	—	—	—	—	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total, numbers ²	12	12	18	16	20	24

¹ The lists of government leaders are taken from *The China Yearbook*, 1916, 1923, 1931-1932, and 1939; *China Handbook*, 1937-1945; and *Wu-han Daily News Yearbook*, 1947 (in Chinese).

² The small numbers of cases, clearly, do not justify the percentages shown in the main body of this table, but the latter are presented so as to afford an economic description.

TABLE 5. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF CHINESE PROVINCIAL HEADS BY SELECTED YEARS *

	1916		1923		1932		1938		1943		1947		Total
	Civilians	Militarists	C.	M.									
China	7	5	2	8	1	16	—	14	—	16	1	21	91
Japan	—	3	—	3	—	4	1	7	1	6	—	6	31
Western countries	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	6
Soviet Russia	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	3
No formal education	—	2	—	5	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	11
Unknown	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Total	8	13	3	16	3	24	1	21	1	24	4	28	146

* Compiled from the same sources as cited in Table 4.

ages of the foreign-educated were much lower. During the six selected years between 1916 and 1947, there were 151 provincial heads. Of the 146 about whom data are available, only three were Russian-trained and six Western-trained (see Table 5). The Russian-trained were professional revolutionaries who in almost all respects were quite distinct from the Western-educated individuals. Only three of the six Western-trained men were appointed after 1932, and none of the three was a normal case. The single official in 1932 was serving directly under a military overlord; the other two were appointed to office in Manchuria in 1947 for special political reasons and probably never exercised power. If these three cases are considered as exceptions, then the trend of provincial leaders appears to have run counter to the trend shown by the central government leaders: not only were few provincial heads Western-trained, but their number decreased and ultimately disappeared between 1916 and 1947.

Two factors may have accounted for the dichotomy of central and provincial leaders. First, after 1916 the provinces in China fell increasingly under the control of militarists, some of whom were Japanese-trained, but most of whom had little formal education. Second, the Western-educated men in China congregated in the largest coastal cities, with only a handful in the provinces: there were few civilian provincial heads and even fewer Western-educated ones. Thus, there was an increasing tendency for the Western-educated leaders and the militarists to become mutually exclusive groups, one dominating the central government and one the provinces.

Academic elite.—Higher education in China was almost the exclusive domain of Western-educated men. From 1920 onward, and particularly after 1927, top administrative posts, ranging from the Minister of Education to directors of provincial education and college presidents, were always occupied by men trained in the West. The predominance of the same group in college faculties was equally pronounced.

In the University of Amoy—a small, privately endowed institution—there were 81 Chinese faculty members in 1927-1928, of whom the American-trained accounted for 67 per cent of the full professors and 58 per cent of the associate professors; the Western-educated teachers in general made up 86 and 83 per cent, respectively, of the same ranks.¹⁵ On the other hand, there were no Western-trained persons among the lecturers (assistant professors) and instructors. A Western degree seemed to be sufficient in this case to assure its holder a senior faculty rank. In 1937, on the faculty of Tsinghua University, a nationally famous center of learning, there were 94 Chinese full professors who had studied in the following countries: the United States (69), both the United States and Europe (5), Germany (7), France (4), England (3), Japan (3),

¹⁵ During the Kuomintang era, the government recognized three kinds of higher educational establishments: universities (with three or more faculties), colleges, and technical schools. In 1934, scholars trained abroad accounted for about 56 per cent of university teachers, over 51 per cent of college teachers, and almost 41 per cent of technical school faculties. The better known institutions generally had more foreign-educated men on their faculties, and institutional prestige depended to some extent on the presence of such men.

Hongkong (1), China only (1), unknown (1). The only man trained solely in China was a professor of Chinese, who later spent a year in Europe on a study tour.

The educational background of the Fellows of the Academia Sinica in 1948 shows a pattern similar to that of the college faculties. The 81 Fellows were distributed among three divisions: Physical Sciences (28), Biological Sciences (25), and Humanities (28). Seventy-five of the 81 Fellows were trained in the West, and 52 in the United States. All six of the Chinese-trained taught in the Humanities: four had received classical education and only two were products of the modern Chinese educational system.

Business leaders.—The survey includes 29 leading bankers,¹⁶ 564 merchants,¹⁷ and 40 industrialists. The first two groups are selected from the official *Chinese Economic Yearbook*, 1933-1934, and the last group from a series of articles on "Contemporary Chinese Industrialists" written by a well-known Chinese journalist in 1944-1948.¹⁸

The 564 merchants were mostly officers of the Chamber of Commerce located in various parts of China. Ten of them had been educated abroad: four in Japan, three in the United States, two in England, and one in Germany. Of these ten, however, all but one were bankers "by profession." There were practically no foreign-educated men among the other merchants. This finding seems to confirm the popular notion in China

that in commerce "book knowledge" is far less useful than practical experience.¹⁹

The predominance of governmentally controlled industries in China is reflected in the fact that most of the industrialists were state officials rather than private entrepreneurs. The 40 cases studied may be divided into four sub-groups: engineers, politicians, private industrialists, and businessmen-in-government—each type showing a different educational pattern. Of the 30 engineers, the educational background of 18 is known and all of these men were trained abroad, 13 in the United States, three in Europe, and two in Japan. They all began as engineers but soon became executives of governmental industries. This pattern possibly indicates the high prestige of technical training and the lack of a sharp division between technology and industrial management in China. The three political heads of governmental industries who make up the second sub-group were educated abroad but had neither business training nor private business interests. Of the three private industrialists, none was Western-trained and only one was Japanese-trained. All four Chinese-trained of the 40 industrialists were businessmen in private life. The educational level of Chinese merchants seems to have differed markedly from that of the officials.

The four businessmen-in-government included one Western-educated, one Japanese-educated, and two Chinese-trained men, a distribution that appears to reflect their marginal role between the officials and the merchants. Interestingly, this is also about the pattern shown by the 29 top bankers: Chinese-trained (12), Japanese-trained (6), American-trained (4), European-trained (4), no formal education—old-style bank apprentices (3).²⁰

¹⁶ The banking resources were highly concentrated. In 1937, the Chinese national government had a three-quarter share in the capital of ten banks which held 61 per cent of the combined resources of all banks (Frank M. Tamagna, *Banking and Finance in China*, New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942, pp. 185-186). Fourteen banks controlled four-fifths of the total assets of all commercial banks (*ibid.*, p. 161). In addition, most large commercial banks in China were founded and dominated by single individuals. Hence the highly important bankers were few.

¹⁷ Under the Kuomintang, commerce was classified into 17 types, ranging from "business of purchase and sale" to "room renting," "publishing," "warehousing," and "manufacturing and finishing" (*The China Manual*, 1944, pp. 404-405)—"merchant" has a very broad meaning.

¹⁸ Hsu Ying, "Contemporary Chinese Industrialists," *New China*, Vols. 2, 3, 5, and 6 (in Chinese).

¹⁹ Except in modern banking, import-export, and a few other new fields, trade in China was conducted largely according to the traditional practices, which had to be learned through apprenticeship. Formal schooling presumably did not give merchants the training they needed.

²⁰ There were two kinds of banks in China, native and modern. The former had been in existence for centuries. The native bankers all began their careers as apprentices and had no formal schooling. Leading native bankers were sometimes employed by modern banks, but native banks never employed a person who had not begun as an appren-

The bankers were merchants but they had a good deal to do with the government and depended heavily upon official connections. Their diverse educational backgrounds do not seem to be accidental. Because the central government officials were highly educated in the formal sense, it may be hypothesized that those who had to deal with them also tended to be formally educated. Whether or not this was due to similar class origins of many of the bankers, businessmen-in-government, and governmental officials need not be discussed here. The significant finding is that highly-educated men dominated the central government and even the businessmen who were close to the central government showed more educational qualifications than did those who had little to do with it.

FOREIGN-TRAINED *VERSUS*
CHINESE-TRAINED

Our survey shows that the Western-educated leaders in China enjoyed a decisive advantage in some fields of employment—notably higher education, central government, and industries under the latter's control. Almost no Western-educated men were among the provincial leaders. Nor were they engaged in commerce of the conventional type.

The advantage of the Western-trained men stands out more sharply when they are compared to the Chinese-trained, who experienced considerable difficulty in finding employment. As early as 1917, Ts'ai Yuan-pei, a leading educator, warned that the lack of employment opportunity for the college graduate constituted a crisis for Chinese education. The problem became endemic: by 1935 John Stuart Leighton estimated that of the 7,000 college graduates every year, only 2,000 could find jobs.²¹ Despite strenuous governmental efforts to remedy the situation, the problem remained unsolved until 1949. The advantage of the Western-trained is highly significant in the analysis of the life chances of different segments of society.

This is the reason that the native bankers are not included in this survey.

²¹ Quoted in George Hinman, "Jobless Graduates," *Chinese Recorder* (August, 1935), pp. 470-473.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE WESTERN-TRAINED MEN

A notable feature of the movement to study abroad is the steady decline of the proportion of the holders of scholarships and fellowships among Chinese who were following such a program. Thus, of the 15,000 Chinese students in Japan in 1906, 53 per cent held scholarships;²² of the 3,840 there in 1920, 32 per cent were in that category;²³ and of the 2,491 who went from China to Japan between 1929 and 1935, a mere three per cent were so classified.²⁴ Among the Chinese students in the United States, the proportional decline of Chinese governmental scholars was equally great (in 1905, 61 per cent of these students held scholarships; in 1908, 44 per cent; 1910, 32 per cent; 1914, 52 per cent; 1918, 42 per cent; 1921, 49 per cent; 1924, 44 per cent; 1925, 20 per cent; between 1929 and 1935, 19 per cent; and in 1942, only three per cent²⁵). As grants from non-governmental sources were insignificant,²⁶ the decline of governmental support meant in effect the increase of self-supporting students, that is, students from wealthy families in

²² J. A. Wallace, "Chinese Students in Tokio and the Revolution," *North American Student* (June, 1913), p. 171.

²³ Shu Hsin-ch'eng, *History of Chinese Studying Abroad in Modern Times*, Shanghai: Chung-hwa, 1927, p. 148 (in Chinese).

²⁴ *Higher Educational Statistics for the 23rd Year of the Republic*, Nanking: Chinese Ministry of Education, 1937, pp. 284-285 (in Chinese).

²⁵ Percentages computed from the following sources: 1905, from John Fryer, *Admission of Chinese to American Colleges*, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1909, pp. 179-183; 1908, *Chinese Students Monthly* (January, 1909), p. 187; 1910, *World Chinese Students' Journal* (March, 1912), pp. 738-739; 1914, *Chinese Students Monthly* (February, 1914), p. 345; 1918, *Directory of Chinese Students*, 1918; 1921, *Who's Who of Chinese Students in the United States*; 1924, Shu Hsin-ch'eng, *op. cit.*, p. 136; 1925, *Chinese Students Monthly* (May, 1925), pp. 32-33; 1929-1935, *Higher Educational Statistics for the 23rd Year of the Republic*, pp. 284-285 (in Chinese); 1942, *China Institute Bulletin* (January, 1942), pp. 1-3.

²⁶ After 1942, many grants were awarded to Chinese students by the United States and Chinese governments, but these were to students already in this country for wartime relief and had little effect upon the composition of their social backgrounds.

China. Although the average expenditure incurred by these students is not known, it is safe to assume that they did not spend less than the stipends paid by the Chinese government to the fellowship-holders. Furthermore, since the stipends did not include travel and medical expenses, they almost certainly were below the actual per student cost. The monthly stipends (in Chinese dollars) paid by the Chinese government to students abroad in the three years, 1909, 1924, and 1933, were about as follows: for students in Japan, 480 dollars in 1909, 646 dollars in 1924, and 840 dollars in 1933; for students in the United States, 2,035 dollars, 2,025 dollars, and 3,280 dollars in the same years, respectively; and for students in England, 2,150, 2,160, and 4,104 dollars, respectively.²⁷

These sums were beyond the ability of most Chinese to pay. The largest social group in China—some 75 per cent of the population—were the farmers,²⁸ whose incomes came from their land-holdings, which according to a 1936 report covering 16 provinces, were as follows:²⁹

Size of Holdings (in Units of <i>mou</i> or 1/6 acre)	Percentage of Total Households
10 and under	59.6
10-29.9	29.4
30-49.9	6.2
50-99.9	3.5
100 and over	1.3
Total	100.0

²⁷ Standard stipends paid by the Chinese government to students in Japan were 400 Yen in 1909 and 840 Yen in 1924 and 1933. Stipends paid to students in the United States were 960 American dollars in 1909 and 1,080 American dollars in 1924 and 1933. Stipends paid to students in England were 192 pounds in 1909 and 240 pounds in 1924 and 1933. To facilitate comparison, these sums were converted into Chinese currency at the average exchange rates prevailing in the respective years. As the rates fluctuated, so the sums in Chinese currency changed.

²⁸ The term "farmers" is used here in a general sense. It includes both landlords and peasants, but excludes those who had important diversified financial interests.

²⁹ Report of National Land Commission, quoted in Shu-ching Lee, *Social Implications of Farm Tenancy in China*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1950, p. 114.

In central China in the 1930s, only farmers having 30 *mou* of land could afford to send two children to primary school.³⁰ Another report in 1935 notes that "only a family having about 50 *mou* could afford to send one child to the higher primary school," and only a family having over 200 *mou* could spare 150 dollars per year to send a son to a secondary school.³¹ In 1930, the expenditure of an average college student in Shanghai was about 500 dollars per year.³² An investigation made by the China International Famine Relief Commission in the 1920s reported that only .2 to 1.6 per cent of China's agricultural population received annual incomes of between 2,000 and 5,000 dollars per family, and only .2 to .4 per cent had annual incomes of over 5,000 dollars.³³ As a large number of people depended for support upon the extended Chinese family, it is doubtful that a family with 5,000 dollars a year could have sent a son to the United States without outside help. For all practical purposes the farmers in China had no opportunity to study abroad.

The second largest group in China were the factory workers, who were variously estimated to number between two and five millions between 1927 and 1947. Between 1917 and 1931, some 82 surveys were made of their living conditions, and the range of their yearly income was found to lie between 100 and 400 dollars per family.³⁴ In one study, the yearly educational outlay per family was reported to be 77 cents;³⁵ in another, 1.45 dollars.³⁶ It may be safely concluded that, barring such special cases

³⁰ Ho Jih-pin, "Chinese Education," *Chinese Educational World*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 10-11 (in Chinese).

³¹ *Agrarian China*, London: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1939, p. 171.

³² Chou Yung, "The Reconstruction of Chinese Education," *Chinese Educational World*, Vol. 18, No. 12 (in Chinese).

³³ J. B. Taylor, "A Study of Rural Economy in China," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (April, 1924), p. 251.

³⁴ L. K. Tao, *The Standard of Living Among Chinese Workers*, Shanghai: Chinese Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931, pp. 4-5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁶ *The Living Standard of Workers in Shanghai*, Shanghai: Shanghai Municipal Government, 1934, p. 75 (in Chinese).

as those involving patronage of a missionary, no Chinese student in the West came from a working-class family.

The social origins of Chinese students in America are suggested by the occupations (in 1924) of the heads of the families of Tsinghua students—all of whom, for two decades, went to the United States after their graduation. Of these 389 family heads, over 32 per cent were governmental employees, almost 31 per cent were educators, 13 per cent were lawyers or members of other professions, more than 20 per cent were industrialists, and only 3.7 per cent (14 cases) were farmers.³⁷ In 1947, questionnaires were sent to some 2,300 Chinese students in this country. Of the 714 replies received, 660 were by students from China, whose fathers' occupations were distributed as follows:³⁸

Businessman	30.3%
Professionals	27.4
Government Workers	17.0
Farmers	6.2
Landlords	5.3
Clergymen	3.8
Technicians	1.2
Others	5.9
Unknown	2.9
 Total (660 cases)	 100.0

In neither survey were the terms precisely defined, and in the second case the respondents were free to choose their own description.³⁹ For the reasons indicated above, we suspect that the "farmers" and "landlords" (in the 1947 listing) were people who owned land but who had diversified financial resources. With absentee landlordism a widespread phenomenon in China, many city-dwellers could be called "farmers" or "landlords" but no true farmer could be called a merchant or industrialist. At any rate, both surveys indicate the predominance of three groups—businessmen, professionals, and government employees—among the fathers of students abroad, and in this respect are consistent with our analysis.

³⁷ Tsao Yung-hsiang, "The Way to Improve Tsinghua," *Tsinghua Weekly*, 10th Anniversary Special Issue, p. 67 (in Chinese).

³⁸ Sun Jen E-tu, "A Poll of Chinese Students in the United States," *Eastern Miscellany*, Vol. 44, No. 9, pp. 11-18 (in Chinese).

³⁹ I am indebted to Mrs. Sun for this information.

SOME LARGER IMPLICATIONS

The replacement of the civil service examinations by a new educational system in China had ominous social implications. Whereas under the old scheme a scholar with limited financial resources had a good chance to succeed, under the new one the opportunity to receive higher education was virtually limited to a small group of men from official, professional, and mercantile families. This limitation was particularly severe because under Western impact study abroad came to be regarded as the highest stage of the educational process, and such study involved heavy expenses that most people could not afford. The farmers, the largest occupational group and hitherto a major source from which scholars were recruited, now had practically no chance of receiving even an intermediate formal education. The only way a peasant could rise into officialdom was within a channel of violence—banditry or soldiery.⁴⁰ Aside from the uncertainty involved, this route did not lead to the same summit, for as noted above the provinces were ruled by the militarists while central governmental posts were filled by the educated class. The traditional pattern of high mobility between the scholars and the peasants disappeared.

The relation between merchants and scholars is of special interest. The former had little education themselves, but a large

⁴⁰ Theoretically, peasants could first become merchants and then rise into officialdom, but time, education, and geography almost eliminated this possibility. It would take a peasant many years to achieve success in business and then he had to receive an education—involving mastery of the literary language and refinement of manners—before he could aspire to an official status. Furthermore, only the most successful business men could become officials, and such business careers were limited to the largest cities. In China, where transportation was difficult, this meant that only peasants who lived near to one or two of the major seaports could aspire to such a business career. In Shanghai, the merchants from Ningpo, an inland city about 100 miles to the south, were well known for their business acumen; although possibly some of these merchants were of peasant stock, very few of them entered officialdom. The pattern is probably more significant for generational mobility: some peasants may have migrated to the city and, after achieving some success in business, may have sent their sons to college and eventually to foreign countries to study.

portion of the Chinese students abroad came from business families. This indicates a new pattern of social mobility. Sons of businessmen who were educated abroad had the prestige of "returned students" but possessed little knowledge of their fathers' businesses and were therefore more apt to become officials, professors, or perhaps lawyers, than merchants—the scanty statistical evidence available justifies this hypothesis. Thus, a study of the members of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee from 1924 to 1929 reveals that merchants' sons accounted for between 31 and 64 per cent (at different times) of those on whom information was obtainable.⁴¹ This pattern

is hardly conceivable without the new educational system in China.

One further hypothesis may be advanced. The recruitment of the educated elite from wealthy urban classes also had important social implications. On the one hand, the rural areas, which the scholar class had ruled for centuries, now had no adequate leadership and the power structure disintegrated. On the other hand, since the central government was staffed largely by the educated class, the urban orientation of the latter was necessarily reflected in national policies. The needs of the rural masses were neglected and political instability ensued. In this way political changes in China were closely related to social changes.

⁴¹ Robert C. North, *Kuomintang and Chinese*

Communist Elites, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952, p. 65.

SPONSORED AND CONTEST MOBILITY AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM *

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Several important differences between the American and English systems of social control and of education reflect a divergence between the folk norms governing modes of upward mobility in the two countries. Under the American norm of contest mobility, elite status is the prize in an open contest, with every effort made to keep lagging contestants in the race until the climax. Sponsored mobility, the English norm, involves controlled selection in which the elite or their agents choose recruits early and carefully induct them into elite status. Differences between the American secondary school and the British system, in the value placed upon education, the content of education, the system of examinations, the attitude toward students working, the kind of financial subsidy available to university students, and the relation of social class to clique formation may be explained on the basis of this distinction.

THIS paper suggests a framework for relating certain differences between American and English systems of education to the prevailing norms of upward mobility in each country. Others have noted the tendency of educational systems to support prevailing schemes of stratification, but this discussion concerns specifically the manner in which the *accepted mode of upward mobility* shapes the school system

directly and indirectly through its effects on the values which implement social control.

Two ideal-typical normative patterns of upward mobility are described and their ramifications in the general patterns of stratification and social control are suggested. In addition to showing relationships among a number of differences between American and English schooling, the ideal-types have broader implications than those developed in this paper: they suggest a major dimension of stratification which might be profitably incorporated into a variety of studies in social class; and they readily can be applied in further comparisons between other countries.

* This is an expanded version of a paper presented at the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, 1959, and abstracted in the *Transactions of the Congress*. Special indebtedness should be expressed to Jean Floud and Hilde Himmelweit for helping to acquaint the author with the English school system.

THE NATURE OF ORGANIZING NORMS

Many investigators have concerned themselves with rates of upward mobility in specific countries or internationally,¹ and with the manner in which school systems facilitate or impede such mobility.² But preoccupation with the *extent* of mobility has precluded equal attention to the predominant *modes* of mobility. The central assumption underlying this paper is that within a formally open class system that provides for man's education the organizing folk norm which defines the accepted mode of upward mobility is a crucial factor in shaping the school system, and may be even more crucial than the extent of upward mobility. In England and the United States there appear to be different organizing folk norms, here termed *sponsored mobility* and *contest mobility*, respectively. *Contest* mobility is a system in which elite³ status is the prize in an open contest and is taken by the aspirants' own efforts. While the "contest" is governed by some rules of fair play, the contestants have wide latitude in the strategies they may employ. Since the "prize" of successful upward mobility is not in the hands of an established elite to give out, the latter can not determine who shall attain it and who shall not. Under *sponsored* mobility elite recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents, and elite status is given on the basis of some criterion

¹ A comprehensive summary of such studies appears in Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959.

² Cf. C. A. Anderson, "The Social Status of University Students in Relation to Type of Economy: An International Comparison," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology*, London, 1956, Vol. V, pp. 51-63; J. E. Floud, *Social Class and Educational Opportunity*, London: Heinemann, 1956; W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper, 1944.

³ Reference is made throughout the paper to "elite" and "masses." The generalizations, however, are intended to apply throughout the stratification continuum to relations between members of a given class and the class or classes above it. Statements about mobility are intended in general to apply to mobility from manual to middle-class levels, lower-middle to upper-middle class, and so on, as well as into the strictly elite groups. The simplified expressions avoid the repeated use of cumbersome and involved statements which might otherwise be required.

of supposed merit and cannot be *taken* by any amount of effort or strategy. Upward mobility is like entry into a private club where each candidate must be "sponsored" by one or more of the members. Ultimately the members grant or deny upward mobility on the basis of whether they judge the candidate to have those qualities they wish to see in fellow members.

Before elaborating this distinction, it should be noted that these systems of mobility are ideal types designed to clarify observed differences in the predominantly similar English and American systems of stratification and education. But as organizing norms these principles are assumed to be present at least implicitly in people's thinking, guiding their judgments of what is appropriate on many specific matters. Such organizing norms do not correspond perfectly with the objective characteristics of the societies in which they exist, nor are they completely independent of them. From the complex interplay of social and economic conditions and ideologies people in a society develop a highly simplified conception of the way in which events take place. This conception of the "natural" is translated into a norm—the "natural" becomes what "ought" to be—and in turn imposes a strain toward consistency upon relevant aspects of the society. Thus the norm acts back upon the objective conditions to which it refers and has ramifying effects upon directly and indirectly related features of the society.*

In brief, the conception of an ideal-typical organizing norm involves the following propositions: (1) The ideal types are not fully exemplified in practice since they are normative systems, and no normative system can be devised so as to cope with all empirical exigencies. (2) Predominant norms usually compete with less ascendant

* The normative element in an organizing norm goes beyond Max Weber's *ideal type*, conveying more of the sense of Durkheim's *collective representation*; cf. Ralph H. Turner, "The Normative Coherence of Folk Concepts," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, 25 (1957), pp. 127-136. Charles Wagley has developed a similar concept which he calls "ideal pattern" in his as yet unpublished work on Brazilian kinship. See also Howard Becker, "Constructive Typology in the Social Sciences," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (February, 1940) pp. 40-55.

norms engendered by changes and inconsistencies in the underlying social structure. (3) Though not fully explicit, organizing folk norms are reflected in specific value judgments. Those judgments which the relevant people regard as having a convincing ring to them, irrespective of the logic expressed, or which seem to require no extended argumentation may be presumed to reflect the prevailing folk norms. (4) The predominant organizing norms in one segment of society are functionally related to those in other segments.

Two final qualifications concerning the scope of this paper: First, the organizing folk norm of upward mobility affects the school system because one of the latter's functions is the facilitation of mobility. Since this is only one of several social functions of the school, and not the most important function in the societies under examination, only a very partial accounting of the whole set of forces making for similarities and differences in the school systems of United States and England is possible here. Only those differences which directly or indirectly reflect the performance of the mobility function are noted. Second, the concern of this paper is with the current dynamics of the situation in the two countries rather than with their historical development.

DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO NORMS

Contest mobility is like a sporting event in which many compete for a few recognized prizes. The contest is judged to be fair only if all the players compete on an equal footing. Victory must be won solely by one's own efforts. The most satisfactory outcome is not necessarily a victory of the most able, but of the most deserving. The tortoise who defeats the hare is a folk-prototype of the deserving sportsman. Enterprise, initiative, perseverance, and craft are admirable qualities if they allow the person who is initially at a disadvantage to triumph. Even clever manipulation of the rules may be admired if it helps the contestant who is smaller or less muscular or less rapid to win. Applied to mobility, the contest norm means that victory by a person of moderate intelligence accomplished through the use of common sense, craft, enterprise, daring, and success-

ful risk-taking⁵ is more appreciated than victory by the most intelligent or the best educated.

Sponsored mobility, in contrast, rejects the pattern of the contest and favors a controlled selection process. In this process the elite or their agents, deemed to be best qualified to judge merit, choose individuals for elite status who have the appropriate qualities. Individuals do not win or seize elite status; mobility is rather a process of sponsored induction into the elite.

Pareto had this sort of mobility in mind when he suggested that a governing class might dispose of persons potentially dangerous to it by admitting them to elite membership, provided that the recruits change character by adopting elite attitudes and interests.⁶ Danger to the ruling class would seldom be the major criterion for choice of elite recruits. But Pareto assumed that the established elite would select whom they wished to enter their ranks and would inculcate the attitudes and interests of the established elite in the recruits.

The governing objective of contest mobility is to give elite status to those who earn it, while the goal of sponsored mobility is to make the best use of the talents in society by sorting persons into their proper niches. In different societies the conditions of competitive struggle may reward quite different attributes, and sponsored mobility may select individuals on the basis of such diverse qualities as intelligence or visionary capability, but the difference in principle remains the same.⁷

⁵ Geoffrey Gorer remarks on the favorable evaluation of the successful gamble in American culture: "Gambling is also a respected and important component in many business ventures. Conspicuous improvement in a man's financial position is generally attributed to a lucky combination of industry, skill, and gambling, though the successful gambler prefers to refer to his gambling as 'vision.'" *The American People*, New York: Norton, 1948, p. 178.

⁶ Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935, Vol. 4, p. 1796.

⁷ Many writers have noted that different kinds of societies facilitate the rise of different kinds of personalities, either in the stratification hierarchy or in other ways. Cf. Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior*, New York: Dryden, 1949, p. 205. A particularly interesting statement is Martindale's exploration of "favored personality" types in sacred and secular societies. Don Martindale

Under the contest system society at large establishes and interprets the criteria of elite status. If one wishes to have his status recognized he must display certain credentials which identify his class to those about him. The credentials must be highly visible and require no special skill for their assessment, since credentials are presented to the masses. Material possession and mass popularity are altogether appropriate credentials in this respect, and any special skill which produces a tangible product and which can easily be assessed by the untrained will do. The nature of sponsored mobility precludes these procedures, but assigns to credentials instead the function of identifying elite members to one another.⁸ Accordingly, the ideal credentials are special skills that require the trained discrimination of the elite for their recognition. In this case, intellectual, literary, or artistic excellencies, which can be appraised only by those trained to appreciate them, are fully suitable credentials. Concentration on such skills lessens the likelihood that an interloper will succeed in claiming the right to elite membership on grounds of the popular evaluation of his competence.

In the sporting event there is special admiration for the slow starter who makes a dramatic finish, and many of the rules are designed to insure that the race should not be declared over until it has run its full course. Contest mobility incorporates this disapproval of premature judgments and of anything that gives special advantage to those who are ahead at any point in the race. Under sponsored mobility, fairly early selection of only the number of persons necessary to fill anticipated vacancies in the elite is desirable. Early selection allows time to prepare the recruits for their elite position. Aptitudes, inherent capacities, and spiritual gifts can be assessed fairly early in life by techniques ranging from divina-

tion to the most sophisticated psychological test, and the more naive the subjects at the time of selection the less likely are their talents to be blurred by differential learning or conspiracy to defeat the test. Since elitists take the initiative in training recruits, they are more interested in the latters' capabilities than in what they will do with them on their own, and they are concerned that no one else should first have an opportunity to train the recruits' talents in the wrong direction. Contest mobility tends to delay the final award as long as practicable to permit a fair race; sponsored mobility tends to place the time of recruitment as early in life as practicable to insure control over selection and training.

Systems of sponsored mobility develop most readily in societies with but a single elite or with a recognized elite hierarchy. When multiple elites compete among themselves the mobility process tends to take the contest pattern, since no group is able to command control of recruitment. Sponsored mobility further depends upon a social structure that fosters monopoly of elite credentials. Lack of such monopoly undercuts sponsorship and control of the recruitment process. Monopoly of credentials in turn is typically a product of societies with well entrenched traditional aristocracies employing such credentials as family line and bestowable title which are intrinsically subject to monopoly, or of societies organized on large-scale bureaucratic lines permitting centralized control of upward social movement.

English society has been described as the juxtaposition of two systems of stratification, the urban industrial class system and the surviving aristocratic system. While the sponsored mobility pattern reflects the logic of the latter, our impression is that it pervades popular thinking rather than merely coexisting with the logic of industrial stratification. Patterns imported into an established culture tend to be reshaped, as they are assimilated, into consistency with the established culture. Thus it may be that changes in stratification associated with industrialization have led to alterations in the rates, the specific means, and the rules of mobility, but that these changes have been

and Elio Monachesi, *Elements of Sociology*, New York: Harper, 1951, pp. 312-378.

⁸ At one time in the United States a good many owners of expensive British Jaguar automobiles carried large signs on the cars identifying the make. Such a display would have been unthinkable under a sponsored mobility system since the Jaguar owner would not care for the esteem of persons too uninformed to tell a Jaguar from a less prestigious automobile.

guided by the but lightly challenged organizing norm of sponsored mobility.

SOCIAL CONTROL AND THE TWO NORMS

Every society must cope with the problem of maintaining loyalty to its social system and does so in part through norms and values, only some of which vary by class position. Norms and values especially prevalent within a given class must direct behavior into channels that support the total system, while those that transcend strata must support the general class differential. The way in which upward mobility takes place determines in part the kinds of norms and values that serve the indicated purposes of social control in each class and throughout the society.

The most conspicuous control problem is that of ensuring loyalty in the disadvantaged classes toward a system in which their members receive less than a proportional share of society's goods. In a system of contest mobility this is accomplished by a combination of futuristic orientation, the norm of ambition, and a general sense of fellowship with the elite. Each individual is encouraged to think of himself as competing for an elite position so that loyalty to the system and conventional attitudes are cultivated in the process of preparation for this possibility. It is essential that this futuristic orientation be kept alive by delaying a sense of final irreparable failure to reach elite status until attitudes are well established. By thinking of himself in the successful future the elite aspirant forms considerable identification with elitists, and evidence that they are merely ordinary human beings like himself helps to reinforce this identification as well as to keep alive the conviction that he himself may someday succeed in like manner. To forestall rebellion among the disadvantaged majority, then, a contest system must avoid absolute points of selection for mobility and immobility and must delay clear recognition of the realities of the situation until the individual is too committed to the system to change radically. A futuristic orientation cannot, of course, be inculcated successfully in all members of lower strata, but sufficient internalization of a norm of ambition tends to leave the unambitious as individual deviants and to fore-

stall the latters' formation of a genuine subcultural group able to offer collective threat to the established system. Where this kind of control system operates rather effectively it is notable that organized or gang deviancy is more likely to take the form of an attack upon the conventional or moral order rather than upon the class system itself. Thus the United States has its "beatniks"⁹ who repudiate ambition and most worldly values and its delinquent and criminal gangs who try to evade the limitations imposed by conventional means,¹⁰ but very few active revolutionaries.

These social controls are inappropriate in a system of sponsorship since the elite recruits are chosen from above. The principal threat to the system would lie in the existence of a strong group the members of whom sought to *take* elite positions themselves. Control under this system is maintained by training the "masses" to regard themselves as relatively incompetent to manage society, by restricting access to the skills and manners of the elite, and by cultivating belief in the superior competence of the elite. The earlier that selection of the elite recruits is made the sooner others can be taught to accept their inferiority and to make "realistic" rather than phantasy plans. Early selection prevents raising the hopes of large numbers of people who might otherwise become the discontented leaders of a class challenging the sovereignty of the established elite. If it is assumed that the difference in competence between masses and elite is seldom so great as to support the usual differences in the advantages accruing to each,¹¹ then the differences must be artificially augmented by discouraging acquisition of elite skills by the masses. Thus a sense of mystery about the elite is a common device for supporting in the masses the illusion of a much greater hiatus of competence than in fact exists.

While elitists are unlikely to reject a sys-

⁹ See, e.g., Lawrence Lipton, *The Holy Barbarians*, New York: Messner, 1959.

¹⁰ Cf. Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.

¹¹ D. V. Glass, editor, *Social Mobility in Britain*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954, pp. 144-145, reports studies showing only small variations in intelligence between occupational levels.

tem that benefits them, they must still be restrained from taking such advantage of their favorable situation as to jeopardize the entire elite. Under the sponsorship system the elite recruits—who are selected early, freed from the strain of competitive struggle, and kept under close supervision—may be thoroughly indoctrinated in elite culture. A norm of paternalism toward inferiors may be inculcated, a heightened sensitivity to the good opinion of fellow elitists and elite recruits may be cultivated, and the appreciation of the more complex forms of aesthetic, literary, intellectual, and sporting activities may be taught. Norms of courtesy and altruism easily can be maintained under sponsorship since elite recruits are not required to compete for their standing and since the elite may deny high standing to those who strive for position by "unseemly" methods. The system of sponsorship provides an almost perfect setting for the development of an elite culture characterized by a sense of responsibility for "inferiors" and for preservation of the "finer things" of life.

Elite control in the contest system is more difficult since there is no controlled induction and apprenticeship. The principal regulation seems to lie in the insecurity of elite position. In a sense there is no "final arrival" because each person may be displaced by newcomers throughout his life. The limited control of high standing from above prevents the clear delimitation of levels in the class system, so that success itself becomes relative: each success, rather than an accomplishment, serves to qualify the participant for competition at the next higher level.¹² The restraints upon the behavior of a person of high standing, therefore, are principally those applicable to a contestant who must not risk the "ganging up" of other contestants, and who must pay some attention to the masses who are frequently in a position to impose penalties upon him. But any special norm of paternalism is hard to establish since there is no dependable procedure for examining the means by which one achieves elite credentials. While mass esteem is an effective brake upon over-exploitation of position, it rewards scrupulously ethical

and altruistic behavior much less than evidence of fellow-feeling with the masses themselves.

Under both systems, unscrupulous or disreputable persons may become or remain members of the elite, but for different reasons. In contest mobility, popular tolerance of a little craftiness in the successful newcomer, together with the fact that he does not have to undergo the close scrutiny of the old elite, leaves considerable leeway for unscrupulous success. In sponsored mobility, the unpromising recruit reflects unfavorably on the judgments of his sponsors and threatens the myth of elite omniscience; consequently he may be tolerated and others may "cover up" for his deficiencies in order to protect the unified front of the elite to the outer world.

Certain of the general values and norms of any society reflect emulation of elite values by the masses. Under sponsored mobility, a good deal of the protective attitudes toward and interest in classical subjects percolates to the masses. Under contest mobility, however, there is not the same degree of homogeneity of moral, aesthetic, and intellectual values to be emulated, so that the conspicuous attribute of the elite is its high level of material consumption—emulation itself follows this course. There is neither effective incentive nor punishment for the elitist who fails to interest himself in promoting the arts or literary excellence, or who continues to maintain the vulgar manners and mode of speech of his class origin. The elite has relatively less power and the masses relatively more power to punish or reward a man for his adoption or disregard of any special elite culture. The great importance of accent and of grammatical excellence in the attainment of high status in England as contrasted with the twangs and drawls and grammatical ineptitude among American elites is the most striking example of this difference. In a contest system, the class order does not function to support the *quality* of aesthetic, literary, and intellectual activities; only those well versed in such matters are qualified to distinguish authentic products from cheap imitations. Unless those who claim superiority in these areas are forced to submit their credentials to the elite for evaluation, poor

¹² Gorer, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-187.

quality is often honored equally with high quality and class prestige does not serve to maintain an effective norm of high quality.

This is not to imply that there are no groups in a "contest" society devoted to the protection and fostering of high standards in art, music, literature, and intellectual pursuits, but that such standards lack the support of the class system which is frequently found when sponsored mobility prevails. In California, the selection by official welcoming committees of a torch singer to entertain a visiting king and queen and "cancan" dancers to entertain Mr. Khrushchev illustrates how American elites can assume that high prestige and popular taste go together.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Returning to the conception of an organizing ideal norm, we assume that to the extent to which one such norm of upward mobility is prevalent in a society there are constant strains to shape the educational system into conformity with that norm. These strains operate in two fashions: directly, by blinding people to alternatives and coloring their judgments of successful and unsuccessful solutions to recurring educational problems; indirectly, through the functional interrelationships between school systems and the class structure, systems of social control, and other features of the social structure which are neglected in this paper.

The most obvious application of the distinction between sponsored and contest mobility norms affords a partial explanation for the different policies of student selection in the English and American secondary schools. Although American high school students follow different courses of study and a few attend specialized schools, a major educational preoccupation has been to avoid any sharp social separation between the superior and inferior students and to keep the channels of movement between courses of study as open as possible. Recent criticisms of the way in which superior students may be thereby held back in their development usually are nevertheless qualified by the insistence that these students must not be withdrawn from the mainstream of stu-

dent life.¹³ Such segregation offends the sense of fairness implicit in the contest norm and also arouses the fear that the elite and future elite will lose their sense of fellowship with the masses. Perhaps the most important point, however, is that schooling is presented as an opportunity, and making use of it depends primarily on the student's own initiative and enterprise.

The English system has undergone a succession of liberalizing changes during this century, but all of them have retained the attempt to sort out early in the educational program the promising from the unpromising so that the former may be segregated and given a special form of training to fit them for higher standing in their adult years. Under the Education Act of 1944, a minority of students has been selected each year by means of a battery of examinations popularly known as "eleven plus," supplemented in varying degrees by grade school records and personal interviews, for admission to grammar schools.¹⁴ The remaining students attend secondary modern or technical schools in which the opportunities to prepare for college or to train for the more prestigious occupations are minimal. The grammar schools supply what by comparative standards is a high quality of college preparatory education. Of course, such a scheme embodies the logic of sponsorship, with early selection of those destined for middle-class and higher-status occupations, and specialized training to prepare each group for its destined class position. This plan facilitates considerable mobility, and recent research reveals surprisingly little bias against children from manual laboring-class families in the selection for grammar school, when related to measured intelligence.¹⁵ It is altogether possible that ade-

¹³ See, e.g., *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1959, Part I, p. 24.

¹⁴ The nature and operation of the "eleven plus" system are fully reviewed in a report by a committee of the British Psychological Society and in a report of extensive research into the adequacy of selection methods. See P. E. Vernon, editor, *Secondary School Selection: A British Psychological Inquiry*, London: Methuen, 1957; and Alfred Yates and D. A. Pidgeon, *Admission to Grammar Schools*, London: Newnes Educational Publishing Co., 1957.

¹⁵ J. E. Floud, A. H. Halsey, and F. M. Martin, *Social Class and Educational Opportunity*, London: Heinemann, 1956.

quate comparative study would show a closer correlation of school success with measured intelligence and a lesser correlation between school success and family background in England than in the United States. While selection of superior students for mobility opportunity is probably more efficient under such a system, the obstacles for persons not so selected of "making the grade" on the basis of their own initiative or enterprise are probably correspondingly greater.

That the contrasting effects of the two systems accord with the social control patterns under the two mobility norms is indicated by studies of student ambitions in the United States and in England. Researches in the United States consistently show that the general level of occupational aspiration reported by high school students is quite unrealistic in relation to the actual distribution of job opportunities. Comparative study in England shows much less "phantasy" aspiration, and specifically indicates a reduction in aspirations among students not selected following the "eleven-plus" examination.¹⁶ One of the by-products of the sponsorship system is the fact that at least some students from middle-class families whose parents cannot afford to send them to private schools suffer severe personal adjustment problems when they are assigned to secondary modern schools on the basis of this selection procedure.¹⁷

This well-known difference between the British sorting at an early age of students into grammar and modern schools and the American comprehensive high school and junior college is the clearest application of the distinction under discussion. But the organizing norms penetrate more deeply into the school systems than is initially apparent.

¹⁶ Mary D. Wilson documents the reduction in aspirations characterizing students in British secondary modern schools and notes the contrast with American studies revealing much more "unrealistic" aspirations; see "The Vocational Preferences of Secondary Modern School-children," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 23 (1953), pp. 97-113. See also Ralph H. Turner, "The Changing Ideology of Success," *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology*, 1956, London, Vol. V, esp. p. 37.

¹⁷ Pointed out by Hilde Himmelweit in private communication.

The most telling observation regarding the direct normative operation of these principles would be evidence to support the author's impression that major critics of educational procedures within each country do not usually transcend the logic of their respective mobility norms. Thus the British debate about the best method for getting people sorted according to ability, without proposing that elite station should be open to whosoever can ascend to it. Although fear of "sputnik" in the United States introduced a flurry of suggestions for sponsored mobility schemes, the long-standing concern of school critics has been the failure to motivate students adequately. Preoccupation with motivation appears to be an intellectual application of the folk idea that people should *win* their station in society by personal enterprise.

The functional operation of a strain toward consistency with the organizing norms of upward mobility may be illustrated by several other features of the school systems in the two countries. First, the value placed upon education itself differs under the two norms. Under sponsored mobility, schooling is valued for its cultivation of elite culture, and those forms of schooling directed toward such cultivation are more highly valued than others. Education of the non-elite is difficult to justify clearly and tends to be half-hearted, while maximum educational resources are concentrated on "those who can benefit most from them"—in practice, this means those who can learn the elite culture. The secondary modern schools in England have regularly suffered from less adequate financial provision, a higher student-teacher ratio, fewer well trained teachers, and a general lack of prestige in comparison with the grammar schools.¹⁸

Under contest mobility in the United

¹⁸ Less adequate financial provision and a higher student-teacher ratio are mentioned as obstacles to parity of secondary modern schools with grammar schools in *The Times Educational Supplement*, February 22, 1957, p. 241. On difficulties in achieving prestige comparable with grammar schools, see G. Baron, "Secondary Education in Britain: Some Present-Day Trends," *Teachers College Record*, 57 (January, 1956), pp. 211-221; and O. Banks, *Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955. See also Vernon, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22.

States, education is valued as a means of getting ahead, but the contents of education are not highly valued in their own right. Over a century ago Tocqueville commented on the absence of an hereditary class "by which the labors of the intellect are held in honor." He remarked that consequently a "middling standard is fixed in America for human knowledge."¹⁹ And there persists in some measure the suspicion of the educated man as one who may have gotten ahead without really earning his position. In spite of recent criticisms of lax standards in American schools, it is in keeping with the general mobility pattern that a Gallup Poll taken in April, 1958, reports that school principals are much more likely to make such criticisms than parents. While 90 per cent of the principals thought that ". . . our schools today demand too little work from the students," only 51 per cent of the parents thought so, with 33 per cent saying that the work was about right and six per cent that schools demanded too much work.²⁰

Second, the logic of preparation for a contest prevails in United States schools, and emphasizes keeping everyone in the running until the final stages. In primary and secondary schools the assumption tends to be made that those who are learning satisfactorily need little special attention while the less successful require help to be sure that they remain in the contest and may compete for the final stakes. As recently as December, 1958, a nationwide Gallup Poll gave evidence that this attitude had not been radically altered by the international situation. When asked whether or not teachers should devote extra time to the bright students, 26 per cent of the respondents replied "yes" and 67 per cent, "no." But the responses changed to 86 per cent "yes" and only nine per cent "no" when the question was asked concerning "slow students."²¹

In western states the junior college offers

many students a "second chance" to qualify for university, and all state universities have some provision for substandard high school students to earn admission.

The university itself is run like the true contest: standards are set competitively, students are forced to pass a series of trials each semester, and only a minority of the entrants achieve the prize of graduation. This pattern contrasts sharply with the English system in which selection is supposed to be relatively complete before entrance to university, and students may be subject to no testing whatsoever for the first year or more of university study. Although university completion rates have not been estimated accurately in either country, some figures are indicative of the contrast. In American institutions of higher learning in 1957-1958, the ratio of bachelor's and first-professional degrees to the number of first-time degree-credit enrollments in the fall four years earlier was reported to be .610 for men and .488 for women.²² The indicated 39 and 51 per cent drop-out rates are probably underestimates because transfers from two-year junior colleges swell the number of degrees without being included in first-time enrollments. In England, a study of the careers of individual students reports that in University College, London, almost 82 per cent of entering students between 1948 and 1951 eventually graduated with a degree. A similar study a few years earlier at the University of Liverpool shows a comparative figure of almost 87 per cent.²³ Under contest mobility, the object is to train as many as possible in the skills necessary for elite status so as to give everyone a chance to maintain competition at the highest pitch. Under sponsored mobility, the objective is to indoctrinate elite culture in only those presumably who will enter the elite, lest there grow a dangerous number of "angry young men" who have elite skills without elite station.

¹⁹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, New York: Knopf, 1945, Vol. I, p. 52.

²⁰ An earlier Gallup Poll had disclosed that 62 per cent of the parents opposed stiffened college entrance requirements while only 27 per cent favored them. Reported in *Time*, April 14, 1958, p. 45.

²¹ Reported in the *Los Angeles Times*, December 17, 1958, Part I, p. 16.

²² U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Education Institutions, 1957-1958*, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1959, p. 3.

²³ Nicholas Malleson, "Student Performance at University College, London, 1948-1951," *Universities Quarterly*, 12 (May, 1958), pp. 288-319.

Third, systems of mobility significantly affect educational content. Induction into elite culture under sponsored mobility is consistent with an emphasis on school *esprit de corps* which is employed to cultivate norms of intra-class loyalty and elite tastes and manners. Similarly, formal schooling built about highly specialized study in fields wholly of intellectual or aesthetic concern and of no "practical" value serves the purpose of elite culture. Under contest mobility in the United States, in spite of frequent faculty endorsement of "liberal education," schooling tends to be evaluated in terms of its practical benefits and to become, beyond the elementary level, chiefly vocational. Education does not so much provide what is good in itself as those skills, especially vocational skills, presumed to be necessary in the competition for the real prizes of life.

These contrasts are reflected in the different national attitudes toward university students who are gainfully employed while in school. More students in the United States than in Britain are employed part-time, and relatively fewer of the American students receive subsidies toward subsistence and living expenses. The most generous programs of state aid in the United States, except those applying to veterans and other special groups, do not normally cover expenses other than tuition and institutional fees. British maintenance grants are designed to cover full living expenses, taking into account parental ability to pay.²⁴ Under sponsored mobility, gainful employment serves no apprenticeship or testing function, and is thought merely to prevent students from gaining the full benefit of their schooling. L. J. Parry speaks of the general opposition to student employment and asserts that English university authorities almost unanimously hold that ". . . if a person must work for financial reasons, he should never spend more than four weeks on such work during the whole year."²⁵

²⁴ See, e.g., C. A. Quattlebaum, *Federal Aid to Students for Higher Education*, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1956; and "Grants to Students: University and Training Colleges," *The Times Educational Supplement*, May 6, 1955, p. 446.

²⁵ "Students' Expenses," *The Times Educational Supplement*, May 6, 1955, p. 447.

Under contest mobility, success in school work is not viewed as a sufficient test of practical merit, but must be supplemented by a test in the world of practical affairs. Thus in didactic folk tales the professional engineer also proves himself to be a superior mechanic, the business tycoon a skillful behind-the-counter salesman. By "working his way through school" the enterprising student "earns" his education in the fullest sense, keeps in touch with the practical world, and gains an apprenticeship into vocational life. Students are often urged to seek part-time employment, even when there is no financial need, and in some instances schools include paid employment as a requirement for graduation. As one observer describes the typical American view, a student willing to work part-time is a "better bet" than "the equally bright student who receives all of his financial support from others."²⁶

Finally, training in "social adjustment" is peculiar to the system of contest mobility. The reason for this emphasis is clear when it is understood that adjustment training presumably prepares students to cope with situations for which there are no rules of intercourse or for which the rules are unknown, but in which the good opinions of others cannot be wholly ignored. Under sponsored mobility, elite recruits are inducted into a homogeneous stratum within which there is consensus regarding the rules, and within which they succeed socially by mastering these rules. Under contest mobility, the elite aspirant must relate himself both to the established elite and to the masses, who follow different rules, and the elite itself is not sufficiently homogeneous to evolve consensual rules of intercourse. Furthermore, in the contest the rules may vary according to the background of the competitor, so that each aspirant must successfully deal with persons playing the game with slightly different rules. Consequently, adjustment training is increasingly considered to be one of the important skills imparted by the school system.²⁷ That the

²⁶ R. H. Eckelberry, "College Jobs for College Students," *Journal of Higher Education*, 27 (March, 1956), p. 174.

²⁷ Adjustment training is not a necessary accompaniment of contest mobility. The shift during the

emphasis on such training has had genuine popular support is indicated by a 1945 *Fortune* poll in which a national sample of adults was asked to select the one or two things that would be very important for a son of theirs to get out of college. Over 87 per cent chose "Ability to get along with and understand people;" and this answer was the second most frequently chosen as the *very* most important thing to get out of college.²⁸ In this respect, British education may provide better preparation for participation in an orderly and controlled world, while American education may prepare students more adequately for a less ordered situation. The reputedly superior ability of "Yankees" to get things done seems to imply such ability.

To this point the discussion has centered on the tax-supported school systems in both countries, but the different place and emphasis of the privately supported secondary schools can also be related to the distinction between sponsored and contest mobility. Since private secondary schools in both countries are principally vehicles for transmitting the marks of high family status, their mobility function is quite tangential. Under contest mobility, the private schools presumably should have little or no mobility function. On the other hand, if there is to be mobility in a sponsored system, the privately controlled school populated largely with the children of elite parents would be the ideal device through which to induct selectees from lower levels into elite status. By means of a scholarship program, promising members of lesser classes could be chosen early for recruitment. The English "public" schools, in fact, have incorporated into their charters provisions to insure that a few boys from lesser classes will enter each year. Getting one's child into a "public" school, or even into one of the less prestigious private schools, assumes an importance in England relatively unknown in the United States. If the children cannot win scholarships the parents often make

last half century toward the increased importance of social acceptability as an elite credential has brought such training into correspondingly greater prominence.

²⁸ Reported in Hadley Cantril, editor, *Public Opinion 1935-1946*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, p. 186.

extreme financial sacrifices in order to pay the cost of this relatively exclusive education.²⁹

How much of a role private secondary schools have played in mobility in either country is difficult to determine. American studies of social mobility usually omit information on private *versus* tax-supported secondary school attendance, and English studies showing the advantage of "public" school attendance generally fail to distinguish between the mobile and the nonmobile in this respect. However, during the nineteenth century the English "public" schools were used by *nouveaux riches* members of the manufacturing classes to enable their sons to achieve unqualified elite status.³⁰ In one sense, the rise of the manufacturing classes through free enterprise introduced a large measure of contest mobility which threatened to destroy the traditional sponsorship system. But by using the "public" schools in this fashion they bowed to the legitimacy of the traditional system—an implicit acknowledgement that upward mobility was not complete without sponsored induction. Dennis Brogan speaks of the task of the "public" schools in the nineteenth century as "the job of marrying the old English social order to the new."³¹

With respect to mobility, the parallel between the tax-supported grammar schools and the "public" schools in England is of interest. The former in important respects have been patterned after the latter, adopting their view of mobility but making it a much larger part of their total function. Generally the grammar schools are the vehicle for sponsored mobility throughout the middle ranges of the class system, modelled after the pattern of the "public" schools which remain the agencies for sponsored mobility into the elite.

EFFECTS OF MOBILITY ON PERSONALITY

Brief note may be made of the importance of the distinction between sponsored

²⁹ For one account of the place of "public" schools in the English educational system, see Dennis Brogan, *The English People*, New York: Knopf, 1943, pp. 18-56.

³⁰ A. H. Halsey of Birmingham University has called my attention to the importance of this fact.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

and contest mobility with relation to the supposed effects of upward mobility on personality development. Not a great deal is yet known about the "mobile personality" nor about the specific features of importance to the personality in the mobility experience.³² However, today three aspects of this experience are most frequently stressed: first, the stress or tension involved in striving for status higher than that of others under more difficult conditions than they; second, the complication of interpersonal relations introduced by the necessity to abandon lower-level friends in favor of uncertain acceptance into higher-level circles; third, the problem of working out an adequate personal scheme of values in the face of movement between classes marked by somewhat variant or even contradictory value systems.³³ The impact of each of these three mobility problems, it is suggested, differ depending upon whether the pattern is that of the contest or of sponsorship.

Under the sponsorship system, recruits are selected early, segregated from their class peers, grouped with other recruits and with youth from the class to which they are moving, and trained specifically for membership in this class. Since the selection is made early, the mobility experience should be relatively free from the strain that comes with a series of elimination tests and long-extended uncertainty of success. The segregation and the integrated group life of the "public" school or grammar school should help to clarify the mobile person's social ties. (One investigator failed to discover clique formation along lines of social class in a sociometric study of a number of grammar schools.³⁴) The problem of a system of values

may be largely met when the elite recruit is taken from his parents and peers to be placed in a boarding school, though it may be less well clarified for the grammar school boy who returns each evening to his working-class family. Undoubtedly this latter limitation has something to do with the observed failure of working-class boys to continue through the last years of grammar school and into the universities.³⁵ In general, then, the factors stressed as affecting personality formation among the upwardly mobile probably are rather specific to the contest system, or to incompletely functioning sponsorship system.

It is often taken for granted that there is convincing evidence to show that mobility-oriented students in American secondary schools suffer from the tendency for cliques to form along lines predetermined by family background. These tendencies are statistically quite moderate, however, leaving much room for individual exceptions. Furthermore, mobility-oriented students usually have not been studied separately to discover whether or not they are incorporated into higher-level cliques in contrast to the general rule. Nor is it adequately demonstrated that the purported working-class value system, at odds with middle-class values, is as pervasive and constraining throughout the working class as it is conspicuous in many delinquent gangs. The model of contest mobility suggests, then, that there is more serious and continuing strain over the uncertainty of attaining mobility, more explicit and continued preoccupation with the problem of changing friendships, and more contradictory learning to inhibit the acquisition of a value system appropriate to the class of aspiration than under sponsored mobility. But the extent and implications of these differences require fuller understanding of the American class system. A search for personality-forming experiences specific to a sponsorship system, such as the British, has yet to be made.

³² Cf. Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 ff.

³³ See, e.g., August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness*, New York: Wiley, 1958; W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, *Big Business Leaders in America*, New York: Harper, 1955; Warner et al., *Who Shall be Educated?*, *op. cit.*; Peter M. Blau, "Social Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 290-300.

³⁴ A. N. Oppenheim, "Social Status and Clique Formation among Grammar School Boys," *British Journal of Sociology*, 6 (September, 1955), pp. 228-245. Oppenheim's findings may be compared with A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: Wiley, 1949, pp. 204-242. See also

CONCLUSION: SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

The foregoing discussion is broadly impressionistic and speculative, reflecting more

Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure*, New York: Rinehart, 1957, pp. 129-138.

³⁵ Floud et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.

the general impression of an observer of both countries than a systematic exploration of data. Relevant data of a variety of sorts are cited above, but their use is more illustrative than demonstrative. However, several lines of research are suggested by this tentative analysis. One of these is an exploration of different channels of mobility in both England and the United States in an attempt to discover the extent to which mobility corresponds to the mobility types. Recruitment to the Catholic priesthood, for example, probably strictly follows a sponsorship norm regardless of the dominant contest norm in the United States.

The effect of changes in the major avenues of upward mobility upon the dominant norms requires investigation. The increasing importance of promotion through corporation hierarchies and the declining importance of the entrepreneurial path of upward mobility undoubtedly compromise the ideal pattern of contest mobility. The growing insistence that higher education is a prerequisite to more and more occupations is a similar modification. Yet, there is little evidence of a tendency to follow the logic of sponsorship beyond the bureaucratic selection process. The prospect of a surplus of college-educated persons in relation to jobs requiring college education may tend to restore the contest situation at a higher level, and the further possibility that completion of higher education may be more determined by motivational factors than by capacity suggests that the contest pattern continues within the school.

In England, on the other hand, two developments may weaken the sponsorship system. One is positive response to popular demand to allow more children to secure the grammar school type of training, particularly by including such a program in the secondary modern schools. The other is introduction of the comprehensive secondary school, relatively uncommon at present but a major plank in the labour party's education platform. It remains to be determined whether the comprehensive school in England will take a distinctive form and serve a distinctive function, which preserves the pattern of sponsorship, or will approximate the present American system.

Finally, the assertion that these types of mobility are embedded in genuine folk norms requires specific investigation. Here, a combination of direct study of popular attitudes and content analysis of popular responses to crucial issues would be useful. Perhaps the most significant search would be for evidence showing what courses of action require no special justification or explanation because they are altogether "natural" and "right," and what courses of action, whether approved or not, require special justification and explanation. Such evidence, appropriately used, would show the extent to which the patterns described are genuine folk norms rather than mere by-products of particular structural factors. It would also permit determination of the extent to which acceptance of the folk norms is diffused among the different segments of the populations.

CLASS BOUNDARIES *

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Class boundaries are conceived as properties of a multiple system of stratification, composed of several rank systems. In each system, the same population is ranked by a different criterion of status. The central question in boundary analysis is: To what extent are the incumbents of any two contiguous ranks of one rank system separated in another? The magnitude of a class boundary is measured by the degree of such separation. This method is applied to the population of Detroit and is used in testing alternative predictions derived, respectively, from "class structure" and "status continuum" hypotheses. The findings suggest that each of these hypotheses is appropriate to a different range within the same stratification system.

STUDENTS of stratification disagree about the presence or absence of structural divisions in social status systems. This issue has been raised primarily, although not exclusively,¹ with respect to stratification in the United States. It involves two contrasting views, which may be considered as alternative hypotheses of a sociographic or descriptive character. One of these is designated here as the "class structure" hypothesis, the other as the "status continuum" hypothesis.

STATUS CONTINUUM VERSUS CLASS STRUCTURE

The *class structure* hypothesis is represented by the familiar assumption that the status systems of American communities are composed of distinct structural units, described in terms of a limited number of "classes."² In part, the widespread accept-

ance of this hypothesis may have resulted from the fact that the analysis of stratification had its origin in societies with highly visible class lines. Moreover, to researchers engaged in a variety of stratification studies the "class structure" assumption has offered a particular advantage: it has provided them with a meaningful criterion for the construction of their statistical tables. Without this assumption, the categories into which a status range is divided must be treated as purely arbitrary "intervals;" with it, they can be conceptualized as "social classes."

Advocates of the *status continuum* hypothesis do not deny the presence of social stratification in the United States. They doubt, however, that it can be described by means of a few structural categories. Status differences in American society are thought to be of a merely gradual character and to lack in "natural breaks." Thus it is claimed that status differences in American society form continuous rather than structured hierarchies.³ This hypothesis originated in

* This study is part of a larger project conducted jointly with Gerhard E. Lenski within the framework of the Detroit Area Study at the University of Michigan. Grants from the Social Science Research Council and from the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Michigan are gratefully acknowledged. Helpful suggestions were made by Robert C. Angell, Gerhard E. Lenski, and Alberta Z. Potter.

¹ See Robert A. Ellis, "Social Stratification and Social Relations: An Empirical Test of the Disjunctiveness of Social Classes," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 570-578; Renate Mayntz, "Gedanken und Ergebnisse Zur Empirischen Feststellung Sozialer Schichten," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Sonderheft 1, (1957), pp. 79-104.

² This view has been taken in many community studies listed in Harold W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (January, 1953), pp. 391-418, esp. pp. 400 ff. The opposite view is explicitly rejected in favor of

the class structure hypothesis by Ellis, *op. cit.*; and by Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure*, New York: Rinehart, 1957, pp. 12 ff.

³ This hypothesis is favored by Arthur W. Kornhauser, "Analysis of 'Class' Structure of Contemporary American Society—Psychological Bases of Class Divisions," in G. W. Hartmann and T. Newcomb, editors, *Industrial Conflict*, New York: Cordon, 1939, Chapter 11, esp. pp. 250, 261; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper, 1944, p. 675; Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race*, Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1948, pp. 301-310; Gerhard E. Lenski, "American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (September, 1952), pp. 139-144; Stanley A. Hetzler, "An Investigation of the Distinctiveness of Social Classes," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (October, 1953), pp. 493-497; John F. Cufer and William F. Ken-

response to research findings which seemed not to be readily compatible with the conventional image of discrete social classes. An analysis of variations in socio-economic attitudes by social status revealed a prevalence of merely minor differences in such attitudes between contiguous status levels.⁴ Further doubt regarding the existence of discrete social classes was provoked by the observation that a panel of well-informed local citizens showed no substantial agreement as to the number of social classes in their community.⁵

While it is true that such findings lend plausibility to the status continuum hypothesis, their relevance to the hypothesis is indirect, and they support it only by way of inference.⁶ In order to probe the issue with more conclusive evidence it seems advisable to employ a direct method of detecting the presence or absence of structural divisions in a stratification system, based on an examination of its internal properties.

THE CONCEPT OF CLASS BOUNDARIES

Like any other methodological objective, the problem of how to determine the existence of structural divisions in a status distribution can be pursued in various ways. The present approach reflects a basic interest in a particular aspect of a stratification system, namely, the interrelationship among its constituent rank systems.⁷ The entire system of stratification in a given population can be viewed as a composite of several rank systems. In any one of these, the en-

kel, *Social Stratification in the United States*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954, pp. 12, 23-29, 150 ff., 303-309; Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1957, p. 77; and John L. Hear, "Predictive Utility of Five Indices of Social Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 541-546.

⁴ Kornhauser, *op. cit.*

⁵ Lenski, *op. cit.*

⁶ Unless one employs a more nearly psychological than sociological framework and conceives of stratification in terms of attitudinal and perceptual variables.

⁷ Ronald Freedman *et al.*, *Principles of Sociology*, New York: Holt, 1952, Chapter 7; Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (August, 1954), pp. 405-413; Werner S. Landecker, "Class Crystallization and its Urban Pattern," *Social Research*, 27 (Autumn, 1960).

tire population is ranked on the basis of a single status factor, such as occupation or ethnic-racial ancestry. Thus, within a given system of stratification, all rank systems are distributions of the same population, but each is based on a different criterion of status.

A total system of stratification can be divided into different layers, each of which cuts across all rank systems. Every layer is a horizontal constellation of ranks located at mutually equivalent levels in different rank systems. Such ranks can be compared with regard to similarity or difference in their composition. If they are very similar in composition, that is, if they have nearly the same incumbents, they form jointly a distinct structural unit of stratification.

In populations characterized by rapid change, however, it is more common that equivalent ranks of different rank systems are at least moderately *dissimilar* in their composition. Under these conditions, there is a large proportion of persons each of whom holds discrepant statuses in the several rank systems. Figuratively speaking, these rank systems are linked in a network of criss-cross connections. Such a network, however, is not necessarily unstructured. Disparate but interrelated ranks of different rank systems can form a cluster, demarcated from other ranks by observable boundaries. One may think of a boundary as being located between two consecutive ranks insofar as their respective interrelations with other rank systems gravitate in opposite directions. In other words, two consecutive ranks are separated by a boundary to the extent that the upper rank is linked to levels above it, and the lower rank to those below it.

In its simplest form, a boundary may be described by means of a model consisting of two rank systems (A and B), both containing four ranks (1-4). This model is shown in Figure 1. The model assumes a population of four persons (a-d), each of whom holds disparate statuses in the two rank systems. The particular status combinations for each person are designed in such a manner that a boundary occurs between rank levels 2 and 3. Rank 2 gravitates upward in the sense that each person who occupies rank 2 in one rank system combines it with rank 1 in the other rank sys-

tem. Rank 3 is combined with rank 4 in every instance and thus gravitates downward. This model serves as a rudimentary and "ideal-typical" sketch of the more complex constellations of status which are the actual subject-matter of boundary analysis. The model provides guidelines for the elaboration of a method by means of which that kind of analysis can be undertaken.

This translation of the controversy into problems of class boundary analysis constitutes more than a change in terminology. In their initial formulation, the two hypotheses seemed to assert mutually exclusive situations; no compromise between these alternatives was readily apparent.⁹ This aspect of the issue is modified when the concept of class boundary is introduced.

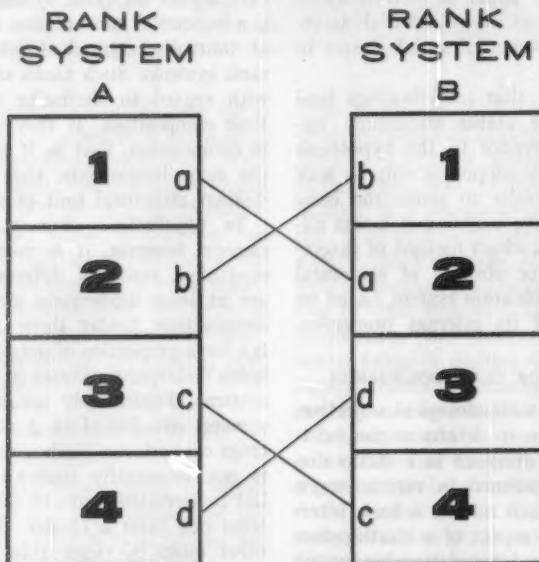


FIGURE 1. SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF A CLASS BOUNDARY

Once such a method has been worked out, the issue posed by the class structure and status continuum hypotheses can be translated into empirical problems of boundary analysis. Insofar as the analysis would fail to reveal the existence of boundaries, the findings would conform to the status continuum hypothesis; insofar as the presence of boundaries is ascertained, such evidence would support the class structure hypothesis. In order to make explicit the fact that boundaries have this heuristic significance, they are designated as *class boundaries*.⁸

In the first place, whereas such terms as "social classes" or "class structure" are descriptive of a total system of stratification, this is not true of the concept of class boundary. The latter refers to a particular location within the larger system and claims no additional characteristics of the system as a whole. Therefore, this concept directs the investigator's attention to the possibility that he may find class boundaries within a limited range of a status system but not elsewhere in its remaining range. In this event, one segment of the observed system would conform to the class structure hy-

⁸ The use of class boundaries as criteria of class structure has a logical implication for the corollary concept of "class." Aside from other specifications which one may wish to include in a definition of this concept, the present approach leads one to

stipulate as a basic property of a class its separation from the remainder of the stratification system by a class boundary.

⁹ An exception is the discussion by Milton M. Gordon in *Social Class in American Sociology*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1958, pp. 183-189.

pothesis, another to the status continuum hypothesis.

A second feature of the class boundary concept is its essentially quantitative character, which becomes more apparent below in its operational treatment. A class boundary is a matter of degree. The manner in which a class boundary is ascertained is a procedure of measuring its relative magnitude. Therefore, the concept brings into focus a wide span of measures, ranging from the strongest to the weakest boundaries. In this respect, the concept permits a greater variety of observations than is anticipated in either hypothesis.

A METHOD OF ASCERTAINING CLASS BOUNDARIES

The problem of how the presence of class boundaries can be determined empirically arose within the context of a more comprehensive study of social stratification in the metropolitan area of Detroit. The data for this study were obtained through interviews with 749 subjects, selected by means of an area sampling technique.¹⁰ The stratification system of Detroit was treated as a composite of four rank systems, namely, the occupational, income, educational, and ethnic-racial.¹¹ Each rank system can be envisaged as a separate table showing the distribution of subjects in ranked categories. For example, one table might show a percentage distribution by year of school completed,¹² another by annual income in intervals of 1,000 dollars.

The choice of the four rank systems reflects an attempt to select as broad a variety of systems as permitted by the available data. Thus, while the occupational, educational, and income rank systems constitute different varieties of achieved status, the ethnic-racial rank system was included to represent ascribed status. For the same basic reason, it seemed desirable to avoid quali-

tative similarities among rank systems; this explains why only one rank system was chosen from several possible indicators of financial status.

These four rank systems were used as the raw material for boundary analysis. The various steps of that analysis are described in the remainder of this section.

1. *A uniform measure of rank.*—In Figure 1 two hypothetical rank systems were drawn, each consisting of four ranks. The assumption that rank levels 2 and 3 are divided by a boundary rested on the implicit premise that status in both rank systems is measured in identical units. It was assumed, in other words, that ranks 2 in rank systems A and B are mutually equivalent in status, that rank 1 in rank system A is superior in status to rank 2 in rank system B, and so on.

Empirical rank systems, however, do not permit this assumption; they present the investigator with such questions as: How much income is the status equivalent of how much education? It becomes necessary, therefore, to reduce the initial diversity in units of measurement to a common denominator. For this reason, the various ranks of any rank system were treated uniformly as a population distribution, described in terms of cumulative percentages which were counted up from the lowest rank. The midpoint of the cumulative percentage range occupied by a given rank was used as its status score.

2. *The basic criterion for boundary analysis.*—The model shown in Figure 1 illustrates a major criterion for the determination of class boundaries. This criterion can be observed in the manner in which the population stratified in one rank system is distributed in the other rank system, and *vice versa*. The presence of a boundary is indicated by the fact that incumbents of contiguous ranks in one rank system occupy noncontiguous ranks in the other rank system. A crucial methodological task is to replicate this criterion under actual conditions. Toward this end, one rank system was selected initially, and for all persons in a given rank the arithmetic mean of their status scores in another rank system was computed. The occupational rank system may serve as an example. For each occupa-

¹⁰ Leslie Kish, "A Two-Stage Sample of a City," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (December, 1952), pp. 761-769.

¹¹ For details, see Lenski, "Status Crystallization . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 406 ff.

¹² This measure of educational status is admittedly crude insofar as it fails to take account of informal status differences among schools represented on the same formal level of education.

tional rank, the mean income status associated with it was ascertained. Correspondingly, for each occupational rank its respective means of ethnic-racial and educational status were obtained. This treatment of the occupational rank system is illustrative of a procedure which was applied to the other three rank systems as well.

3. *Standardizing the unit of measurement.*—It might seem that the preceding step yields a sufficient criterion for judging the size of a break or the "distance" which separates consecutive ranks within a rank system. The difference between the mean status scores carried by their respective incumbents in other rank systems may appear to be such a criterion. For instance, if a greater difference in mean income status were found between the incumbents of certain occupational ranks than between those of other occupational ranks, this might suggest that the first set of occupational ranks is divided by a greater distance than is the second set.

This conclusion, however, is weakened by the fact that even *within* a rank system there may be greater or smaller status differences between any two consecutive ranks, irrespective of the way their incumbents are distributed in *other* rank systems. Two such ranks may differ widely in the status scores assigned to them in their own rank system, while two other ranks in the same system may differ much less. Variations in this respect are apt to distort the results of the investigation, since the amount of status difference between two ranks within their own rank system will affect the difference between their means in other rank systems. For example, if the difference in means of income status is greater between occupational ranks 1 and 2 than between ranks 2 and 3, the greater magnitude of that difference may be an insignificant artifact, created by a larger discrepancy in occupational status between 1 and 2 than between 2 and 3. Conversely, a given income difference between two occupational ranks is all the more significant, the less these ranks differ in their occupational status. It is necessary, therefore, to cancel out the effect of this variable before any conclusions with respect to class boundaries are drawn.

For this reason, mean income differences between occupational ranks were weighted by a factor inversely proportionate to the difference in occupational status between the same ranks.¹³ In accordance with their weighted differences from one another, the original means of income status were converted into "adjusted means."¹⁴ The same procedure of standardization was extended to all means of status which had been computed previously (step 2). This resulted in three series of adjusted means for each of the four rank systems, every series representing one particular rank system in relation to one other rank system.

4. *"Distances" within a rank system.*—The extent to which contiguous ranks differ in their adjusted means constitutes a multiplicity of criteria for ascertaining the existence of breaks between such ranks. Not only do these criteria vary from one rank system to another, but even for any one of them there are different sets of adjusted means which compete as indicators of breaks *within* the rank system. Thus, for purposes of judging the extent to which there are breaks in the income rank system, alternative and not entirely uniform criteria are provided by its adjusted means of occupational, educational, and ethnic-racial status, as may be seen in Table 1. For example, the two highest income ranks differ from each other most sharply in their adjusted means of educational status, less so in their corresponding means of occupational status, and not at all in their means of ethnic-racial status. Generally speaking, for each of the four rank systems in question, its respective distribution in each of the three other systems would yield diverse criteria of distance between its ranks.

But the methodological goal of the analysis was to produce a single measure of bound-

¹³ Whenever the higher of two adjoining occupational ranks had also the higher mean of income status, the difference between the two means of income status, multiplied by 10, was divided by the difference in occupational status between the same ranks. Any mean of income status which exceeded that of a higher occupational rank was kept in its proportionate relation to the next higher and lower means.

¹⁴ The weighted differences were subtracted cumulatively from the highest mean. The result of each subtraction was an "adjusted mean."

TABLE 1. DISTANCES AMONG INCOME RANKS, AS MEASURED BY DIFFERENCES AMONG THEIR ADJUSTED MEANS IN THREE OTHER RANK SYSTEMS

Income Ranks		Adjusted Means in the			Means of Adjusted Means (F)	Inter-Rank Distances (G)
Ranges (A)	Status Scores (B)	Occupational Rank System (C)	Educational Rank System (D)	Ethnic-Racial Rank System (E)		
(1) 93.4-100.0	97	80.4	78.9	57.5	72.3	15.5
(2) 90.5-93.3	92	69.4	43.5	57.5	56.8	0.9
(3) 81.2-90.4	86	71.6	36.8	59.4	55.9	6.4
(4) 68.2-81.1	75	61.0	34.0	53.6	49.5	1.8
(5) 46.8-68.1	57	56.7	33.2	53.2	47.7	4.1
(6) 18.1-46.7	32	49.8	29.2	50.4	43.1	-0.4
(7) 10.1-18.0	14	50.2	30.0	50.7	43.6	5.2
(8) 4.9-10.0	7	48.4	21.8	40.6	36.9	-0.4
(9) 0.0-4.8	2	47.8	15.4	50.5	37.9	—

aries for the stratification system as a whole rather than for one rank system at a time, let alone three different criteria for each rank system. It was necessary, therefore, to combine all of these limited measures into a single index of class boundaries. This procedure was carried out in two stages. In the first, the three criteria for the gauging of breaks in a given rank system were combined into a single measure of the "distance" between any two of its ranks. In the second stage, these measures of distance, each specific to a different rank system, were used as components of an over-all index of class boundaries.

The manner in which distances within a rank system were computed is illustrated in Table 1 with reference to the income rank system.¹⁵ In the first place, the table shows each of the adjusted means of status held by the incumbents of a given income rank in each of the three other rank systems. These three means of status were combined into their over-all mean (Column F). The difference between the over-all mean for a given income rank and the *next lower* over-all mean of a lower income rank was used to measure an inter-rank distance. Depending on the location of the next lower over-all mean, distances were calculated sometimes between contiguous ranks¹⁶ and sometimes between non-contiguous ranks.¹⁷ For each

income rank, its distance from a lower income rank is shown in the last column.¹⁸

The same procedure which has been described with reference to the income rank system was used in each of the three other rank systems. Thus, distances in the occupational rank system were calculated by combining the mean educational status, income status, and ethnic-racial status, which are associated with a given occupational rank, into an over-all mean, and by determining the difference between the over-all means for one occupational rank and another. In basically the same way, inter-rank distances were obtained for the educational and the ethnic-racial rank systems.

5. *The class boundary index.*—While, then, a variety of limited indicators were merged into fewer and more comprehensive measures of distance, any set of such measures is restricted to a single rank system. The remaining task, therefore, was to combine the four sets of distance measures into an over-all index of class boundaries. The desired function of such an index is to summarize in each of its values a cross-section of inter-rank distances which are found in different rank systems at similar locations.

As indicated above, any "rank" represents a range of percentage scores within the

¹⁵ Corresponding tables were constructed for each of the three other rank systems but are omitted because of space limitation.

¹⁶ Thus, referring to specific cells of Table 1, $G_1 = F_1 - F_2$; $G_2 = F_2 - F_3$; $G_3 = F_3 - F_4$; and $G_4 = F_4 - F_5$.

¹⁷ Thus, $G_5 = F_5 - F_7$; and $G_7 = F_6 - F_9$.

¹⁸ Reversals between the over-all means of contiguous ranks resulted in negative values of distance. The structural significance of a reversal for the rank system as a whole seemed to depend partly on the relative size of the smaller of those ranks between which the reversal occurred; negative distance values were weighted accordingly. Thus, $G_6 = \frac{A_7(F_6 - F_7)}{\bar{X}_A}$; and $G_8 = \frac{A_9(F_8 - F_9)}{\bar{X}_A}$.

TABLE 2. CLASS BOUNDARIES, AS MEASURED BY THE MEANS OF INTER-RANK DISTANCES

Intervals of Status Percentiles	Occupational Rank System		Income Rank System		Educational Rank System		Ethnic-Racial Rank System		Class Boundary Index
	Lower Rank-Limits	Inter-Rank Distances	Lower Rank-Limits	Inter-Rank Distances	Lower Rank-Limits	Inter-Rank Distances	Lower Rank-Limits	Inter-Rank Distances	
92-96	94	9.8	93	15.5	93	14.1	—	—	13.1
87-91	—	—	90	0.9	90	9.0	89	3.5	4.5
82-86	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
77-81	—	—	81	6.4	79	1.9	78	3.1	3.8
72-76	72	4.7	—	—	—	—	72	-1.6	1.5
67-71	—	—	68	1.8	67	0.4	—	—	1.1
62-66	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
57-61	—	—	—	—	61	-1.3	59	0.6	-0.4
52-56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
47-51	—	—	47	4.1	51	5.1	50	-1.2	2.7
42-46	43	3.2	—	—	43	-0.8	42	0.1	0.8
37-41	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
32-36	—	—	—	—	32	3.2	—	—	(3.2)
27-31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22-26	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	-3.7	(-3.7)
17-21	—	—	18	-0.4	18	3.3	20	-6.0	-1.0
12-16	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	4.9	(4.9)
7-11	8	1.8	10	5.2	8	6.1	—	—	4.4
2-6	—	—	5	-0.4	—	—	6	-12.5	-6.5

cumulative percentage distribution of a rank system. The lowest score of the range covered by a given rank is designated as its "lower rank-limit" in Table 2. It is the point at which a rank is separated from lower ranks and, therefore, is the potential location of a class boundary. The table shows the amount of distance by which the ranks of each rank system are divided at each lower rank-limit,¹⁹ thereby providing a basis for assessing the magnitude of a class boundary formed by a horizontal series of lower rank-limits.

Several lower rank-limits were combined into a horizontal series in accordance with the following rule: No rank system may be represented more than once in a single series, and different lower rank-limits must be similarly located in their respective rank systems. They were treated as being "similarly located" if they fell into the same interval of status percentiles. Each such interval consisted of five consecutive percentiles. It was found that such breaks in this particular set of data can be represented most adequately by selecting status percentiles 2-6

as the base line for the entire array of equal intervals.²⁰ The class boundary index is the arithmetic mean of inter-rank distances at those lower rank-limits which fall within a single interval. The last column of Table 2 presents the values of this index. Since some intervals do not contain any lower rank-limits, there are corresponding gaps in the array of index scores. The use of parentheses signifies that the score shown is a single inter-rank distance rather than an average of several.

FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Location and magnitude of class boundaries.—When the various scores of the class boundary index are compared, one fact stands out clearly: a single class boundary by far surpasses all others in magnitude. This boundary is found in the interval of status percentiles 92-96 and separates a small "elite" range from the remainder of

¹⁹ Inter-rank distances for the income rank system are taken from Table 1. Inter-rank distances for each of the other rank systems were calculated in the same manner, as shown above in step 4.

²⁰ The methodological principle involved here is not that a class boundary index always requires the particular intervals used in this instance, but rather that they should be chosen so as to provide the best possible fit for the actual distribution of lower rank-limits. Some flexibility in this respect will enhance rather than reduce the comparability of indices for different sets of data.

the stratification system. The elite range is characterized by a completed college education, occupations on a high professional or executive level, and incomes whose recipients constitute approximately the highest seven per cent of all income-earners.

The class boundary index yields other positive, but much smaller, scores in several locations. The highest of such scores, those exceeding four points each, are—at best—suggestive of two further segments of the status system. One of these represents a barely distinguishable "lower" stratum; the other is placed in an "upper-middle" area, immediately below the elite range. Between them lies a very large range whose internal boundaries are so feeble that it can be considered as almost undifferentiated.

The upper-middle sector is demarcated from this range by a minor boundary (interval 87-91) which derives its limited support primarily from a break in the educational rank system. This break separates persons who have completed a substantial amount of college study²¹ from those on lower educational levels. An additional basis for this minor boundary is provided by a division between the highest ethnic rank, composed of persons of English ancestry, and the next-lower level of the ethnic-racial rank system. On the other hand, the segment which lies below the minor boundary in the interval 7-11 is characterized by unskilled service occupations, relatively little formal education,²² and by the lowest nine per cent of all personal incomes.

While it is possible, then, to delineate a few relatively small structural units—designated in the above as "elite," "upper-middle," and "lower"—this merely structural description requires quantitative modification. The three structural units differ greatly in the magnitude of the class boundaries by which they are set off, and therefore also in the degree of their structural distinctness. The elite sector is demarcated by a class boundary which is almost three times stronger than any other, as measured by

their index scores. Only the elite boundary is of sufficient magnitude to indicate a tendency of adjacent strata to "gravitate" in opposite directions. To detect such a tendency is the purpose for which the class boundary index has been designed. The inverse of that tendency is signified by negative index scores. They show the extent to which there is overlap, rather than separation, between the strata concerned. It is only because negative and extremely low positive scores are so prevalent in the total array of index values that the few indications of minor boundaries seemed to merit recognition at all.

Related research problems.—The preceding findings rest upon one among several available criteria for the determination of class boundaries. Whether or not the use of other criteria would produce similar results is an open question. An alternative to the approach taken here might be to infer the existence of class boundaries from other phenomena in which they may be manifested, such as low rates of vertical mobility between contiguous strata,²³ low frequencies of person-to-person contacts across contiguous strata, or sharp differences between them with regard to attitudes and behavior. It is likely indeed that such variables are fairly sensitive to the prevailing system of stratification; they are acceptable as indices of its structural properties if there is no better alternative.

Instead of taking recourse to indirectly relevant observations of this kind, it seemed preferable to determine the location and magnitude of class boundaries by means of direct evidence, that is, through an examination of the relationships among the various rank systems of which the total system of stratification is constituted. This procedure has the major advantage of permitting the investigation of research problems which otherwise would be obscured. Since class boundaries were not measured in terms of attitudinal and behavioral variables, the relationship of these variables to class boundaries can be studied as an empirical question.

²¹ For persons under 40 years of age, three years of college; for persons 40 or more years of age, two or three years of college.

²² For persons under 40 years of age, less than an 8th grade education; for persons 40 or more years of age, less than a 4th grade education.

²³ This criterion has been proposed by Andreas Miller in "The Problem of Class Boundaries and its Significance for Research into Class Structure," *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*, Paris, 1954, Vol. 2, pp. 343-352.

This type of research problem can be exemplified as follows. Some years ago, a comprehensive review of public-opinion data revealed that the sharpest break in attitudes on socio-economic issues occurred between a small, upper set of well-to-do persons and the remaining 80 to 90 per cent of the population.²⁴ This break in the distribution of attitudes is near the point where the only major class boundary was found in the present study. While these findings may be unrelated, their similarity suggests a general problem: Are differences in socio-economic attitudes held by consecutive strata proportionate to the magnitude of class boundaries between them? Similar questions for research concern the relationship between class boundaries, as measured here, and several other variables noted above as alternative indicators.

Furthermore, the findings have implications for a methodological problem in stratification research. When seeking to ascertain behavioral or attitudinal concomitants of stratification, the investigator sometimes is faced with the task of deciding which of several possible cutting-points in a status distribution is likely to reveal the most significant status differences among his subjects. Theoretical considerations which can be traced to Thorstein Veblen have given support to the view that it is advantageous to split a population into "white collar" and "blue collar," or "middle class" and "working class."²⁵ In urban samples, each category created by this split constitutes a major portion of the entire status range.²⁶

The adequacy of this approach, however, is not beyond question. Especially among thinkers who treat American society largely as a power structure, it has been claimed that the chief structural components of the population are a small "elite" and a much larger "mass."²⁷ While the present study

has no bearing on the political and socio-psychological aspects of "elitist" theory, it does strengthen the view that the main break in the stratification system occurs very near the top. It seems probable, therefore, that a status dichotomy which overlaps this break, as does the cut between white collar and blue collar, will be impaired in its discriminatory power as an instrument of research.

The "structure"—"continuum" controversy.—The analysis of class boundaries was occasioned by two alternative conceptions of social stratification in the United States, called here the class structure and the status continuum hypotheses. Being merely descriptive statements, these hypotheses would not clash if each were applied to a different population. Thus, the class structure hypothesis may fit the situation in one community, while the status continuum hypothesis may be closer to the facts in another. In order to establish the relevance of the present findings for *both* hypotheses it is necessary to assume, therefore, that *each* would have given rise to a different prediction for the particular community treated in this study. This seems to be a reasonable assumption and is taken as a premise for the following conclusions.

It is readily apparent that neither hypothesis is wholly corroborated or contradicted by the data examined here. The *class structure hypothesis* derives its strongest support from the existence of a major class boundary. However, in line with the hypothesis itself, one would have expected to find structural divisions throughout the entire system of stratification. Accordingly, one would have predicted that as wide a range as lies below the "elite" level is subdivided by at least one class boundary of major proportions. While minor boundaries within that range were tentatively identified, they provide only the most limited support for the hypothesis; their very weakness signifies the extent to which the observed facts fall short of the anticipated pattern.

The *status continuum hypothesis*, on the other hand, denies the existence of *any* major structural break in a given system

²⁴ Kornhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 253, 261.

²⁵ Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959, pp. 14-17, and *passim*.

²⁶ See, e.g., C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, New York: Oxford, 1953, p. 63; and Morris Janowitz, "Social Stratification and Mobility in West Germany," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (July, 1958), Tables 1 and 2.

²⁷ C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, New York:

Oxford, 1956, pp. 321-324; see also Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 202.

of stratification. It is clear that the evidence does not substantiate this hypothesis in its radical sense. But the hypothesis implies also the more limited assumption that a stratification system will show at least a greater degree of coherence, covering a wider range of its levels, than would be compatible with the traditional notion of "class structure." This assumption is supported by the fact that the condition of an unbroken status sequence is closely approximated throughout a large segment of the observed system.

In summary, the measurement of class

boundaries attempted in this investigation reveals the presence of one major class boundary, by which the topmost strata are divided from the bulk of the population. Below this elite boundary, the dominant feature is a status gradation of considerable continuity, aside from a few minor indentations. The view suggested by these findings is that neither the class structure nor the status continuum hypothesis takes precedence over the other, but rather that each is appropriate to a different portion of the total system of stratification.

THE INTERACTION OF SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL SPACE *

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In explaining occupational residence patterns, one view of the relationship of social and physical space (in terms of "economic competition") emphasizes occupational differences in resources, while the other (in terms of "social choice") emphasizes differences in style of life. This study tests the relative importance of these two factors in the residential association of occupations in one city. Differential association is a function of similarity in rank. Education, used as a measure of style of life, accounts for a substantially larger part of the variation in the association of occupations than does income, used as a measure of resources. Occupational categories appear to represent rank levels whose members seek to differentiate themselves from inferiors by means of their residences; income is a primary means of accomplishing that differentiation.

THE rationale for studies that examine the consonance of social and physical space was stated most aptly by Park, who stressed both the static correspondence between cultural and territorial organization and the dynamic proposition that "most if not all cultural changes in society will be correlated with changes in its territorial organization and every change in the territorial and occupational distribution of the population will effect changes in the existing culture."¹ The city's spatial order, in this view, reflects and affects its social order;

social changes can be located by accurately tracing their spoor. Park's formulation posits not only a correspondence between physical and social distance, but also the converse: the near-identity of residential proximity and social equality.

Widespread agreement on the intimate character of the relationship between physical and social distance is accompanied by equally widespread disagreement on the factors that give rise to such intimacy. The crucial question is: how does social equality become transformed into physical proximity, and vice versa? With some imprecision, two positions may be distinguished.

First, there are those who view the spatial distribution of human activities as an orderly phenomenon in itself, governed by an impersonal, economic process of competition for locations with fixed differential value, a competition in which all units seek similar ends, but differ in costs and available re-

* This is a revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, September, 1959. Feldman is indebted to the Committee on Economic Growth of the Social Science Research Council, and to the Center of International Studies, Princeton University, and Tilly to the Faculty Research Committee of the University of Delaware, for research aid on this study.

¹ Robert E. Park, *Human Communities*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952, p. 231 (italics added).

sources. This is a competition that is essentially and profoundly economic.²

The alternative position, secondly, deals with space as a reflection or indicator of social values, governed in part by "sentimental" or "non-economic" or "cultural" factors. The desire for and achievement of spatial location, in this view, involves the conscious choice of actors who vary in their ends and values. This is a choice that is essentially and profoundly social.³

In various forms, these two types of analysis confront each other in most of the problems of urban ecology. Each has had a part to play, for example, in recent discussions of suburban growth in the United States. In this field, the "economic competition" approach leads to a concern with transportation changes, land values, and competition between residential and non-residential uses of the land, as well as to the proposition that ability to pay is the primary factor in distance of residences from the center of the city or in the type and location of housing that different sorts of suburban families occupy.⁴ To exaggerate the simplicity of

the argument: market competition forces accessible central city land out of residential use; transportation improvements reduce the time and money costs of peripheral locations; families with essentially similar schedules of housing preference compete for desirable locations; differences in family income therefore determine differences in housing quality and location within the metropolitan area.

The "social choice" approach, on the other hand, leads to a concern with personal motives for residential change, with styles of life, and with the status significance of suburban housing.⁵ This approach is particularly hospitable to the propositions, first, that some kind of normative change is responsible for mass migration to the suburbs and, second, that each section of a metropolis tends to recruit residents of relatively similar values and aspirations.

The fact that their proponents have generally applied these two types of analysis to somewhat different problems has hidden some of their discontinuity and possible inconsistency. Nevertheless, the sociological literature concerning suburbanization contains the germ of the same strident debate over the relationship of social and physical space that has broken out periodically in other fields of urban sociology.

The controversy is not exclusively about

² See, e.g., R. M. Hurd, *Principles of City Land Values*, New York: The Record, 1903; Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 18 (1923), pp. 85-97; R. D. McKenzie, "Spatial Distance and Community Organization Pattern," *Social Forces*, 5 (June, 1927), pp. 623-627; James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950. Of course, any such classification of the basis of emphasis does violence to the subtlety and variety of views presented by these authors. We have no desire to elect either a villain or a hero from these approaches. For a more partisan view, see Otis Dudley Duncan and Leo F. Schnore (with comment by Peter Rossi), "Cultural, Behavioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 65 (September, 1959), pp. 132-153.

³ See, e.g., Walter Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," *American Sociological Review*, 10 (April, 1945), pp. 140-148; Milla A. Alihan, *Social Ecology*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1938; A. B. Hollingshead, "A Re-examination of Ecological Theory," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31 (January-February, 1947), pp. 194-204; Paul K. Hatt, "The Concept of Natural Areas," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (October, 1946), pp. 423-427.

⁴ Cf. Donald J. Bogue, *Metropolitan Growth and the Conversion of Land to Nonagricultural Uses*, Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1956; Beverly Duncan,

"Intra-Urban Population Movement," in P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss, Jr., editors, *Cities and Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 297-309; Philip M. Hauser, "The Changing Population Pattern of the Modern City," in Hatt and Reiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-174; Leo F. Schnore, "The Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 165-173. It is rather more difficult to classify the analysts than it is to classify their analyses; as Schnore remarks, even investigators firmly set in the tradition of human ecology often shift to "social psychological" or "social choice" explanations in dealing with suburbanization.

⁵ Cf. Wendell Bell, "Social Choice, Life Styles, and Suburban Residence," in W. M. Dobriner, editor, *The Suburban Community*, New York: Putnam, 1958, pp. 225-247; Sylvia Fleis Fava, "Suburbanism as a Way of Life," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February, 1956), pp. 34-37; Ernest R. Mowrer, "The Family in Suburbia," in Dobriner, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-164; Richard Dewey, "Peripheral Expansion in Milwaukee County," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (May, 1948), pp. 417-422; Walter T. Martin, *The Rural-Urban Fringe*, Eugene: University of Oregon, 1953.

the extent to which order in physical space reflects order in human behavior. It is also a controversy about the specific factors that are the bases of significant social divisions. Occupation is the case in point. We may identify two ways of explaining the fact that people with different occupations tend to live in different sections of cities. These two types of explanation rest on divergent conceptions of occupational categories.

For some analysts, occupation is a measure of position *vis-a-vis* the labor and commodity markets and, by the same token, the market for housing. Differential association of occupations is therefore a consequence of economic competition—one of the effects of the classical economists' "invisible hand."⁶ We may infer the magnitude of this component from the differential income levels of occupational categories.

For others, the most salient feature of occupational categories is their shared norms. This position insists upon a sharp analytical distinction between the body of norms that constitute what is often loosely called an occupational subculture and the income or market position that accrues to an occupation. Rather than viewing occupational categories as resource or market units, these categories are viewed as indicative of different value systems or styles of life. Since these shared normative elements are presumably consequences of a shared socialization process, we may infer the magnitude of this component from the differential educational levels of occupational categories.⁷

⁶ It is instructive to note the correspondence between the classical economists' concept of the "invisible hand" as the guiding principle for economic change and the human ecologists' concepts of such processes as invasion, centralization, and segregation. Both invoke "natural" laws which have little to do with behavior. Both also are descriptions of the differences in time between static situations, rather than descriptions of observed processes. In their crude form, the ecological processes may be considered subcategories of the theory of market changes—invisible fingers of the invisible hand.

⁷ Lest the reader judge us to be incredibly naive, we hasten to state our uncomfortable awareness of the dubious validity of inferring other "life styles" solely from educational levels. We may ruefully remark that most studies of this kind based on census data suffer similar imperfections.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Despite a welcome increase in the proportion of studies that employ personal interviews, aggregate social data for areal units remain the principal source of information about urban social structures. The problems that result from the combined use of areal units and fairly crude sociological measures may be grouped into three rough categories.

1. While areal units *per se* have intrinsic interest for sociologists, many analysts are at least equally interested in drawing behavioral inferences from ecological data. Of course, the direct extension of the characteristics of areal units to the characteristics of individuals residing in such units, involves the researcher in the familiar ecological fallacy.⁸ Nevertheless, the residential area is one important *context* within which personal behavior takes place. Thus, the fact of living in an area with certain characteristics in income, education, race, and so on, is sociologically relevant, whether or not the personal traits of residents are similar to the averages of the areal units in which they reside.⁹ If one carefully observes the restrictions on the kinds of inferences that may be based on ecological data, areal units of observation have considerable analytical utility for the sociologist.

2. The ecological fallacy is not limited to areal units. Lack of precision in the measurement of social space,¹⁰ more often than

⁸ Cf. Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Davis, "An Alternative to Ecological Correlation," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (December, 1953), pp. 665-666; Leslie Kish, "Differentiation in Metropolitan Areas," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (August, 1954), pp. 388-398; Jerome K. Myers, "Note on the Homogeneity of Census Tracts; A Methodological Problem in Urban Ecological Research," *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), pp. 364-366; W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 351-356.

⁹ Cf. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Allen H. Barton, "Qualitative Measurement in the Social Sciences: Classification, Typologies, and Indices," in D. Lerner and H. D. Lasswell, editors, *The Policy Sciences*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951, pp. 187-192; Hanan C. Selvin, "Durkheim's *Suicide* and Problems of Empirical Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (May, 1958), pp. 615-619.

¹⁰ The term "social space," unfortunately, may convey a pretentious note. Our understanding of the term generally conforms to the usage of Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, New York: Harper,

not, matches the imprecise definition of units of physical space. The social variables being measured in ecological research are often as gross as the physical units of observation. This problem might be called that of aggregate social units, that is, the use of sociological measures that combine in unknown proportions the substantive content of a number of different, though allied, variables.

The problem of the aggregate social unit is central to this paper. The broad occupational categories normally employed in urban research conglomerate the effects of a number of variables, and thereby leave undetermined what part such elements of occupational status as income, shared socialization, power, and job activity itself play in the processes of differential association, residential segregation, and the like. We have attempted to distinguish the effects of two such elements.

3. The validity of this kind of analysis rests upon the shaky assumption that processes of change may be inferred from static, cross-sectional relationships. One of the great attractions of the language of human ecology is that it incorporates a vocabulary of *process*—invasion, succession, concentration, dispersion, segregation. One of the principal purposes of studies of urban occupational segregation is to discover the nature of the *processes* that lead to observed residential patterns. But much of the time investigators have only a set of simultaneous observations from which to infer the nature of those processes. This is certainly the case in the present study.

We are in the position, in fact, of wishing to discern the operation of the several components of occupation in the process of residential segregation, and even to make some inferences about the elements of occupational mobility, while having only summary data for areal units in terms of crude occupational categories for a single point in time. Our conclusions are therefore, at best, tentative.

1927, Chapter 1, as well as to the operational description in Allen H. Barton, "The Concept of Property-Space in Social Research," in P. F. Lazarsfeld and M. Rosenberg, editors, *The Language of Social Research*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, pp. 40-53.

THE STUDY'S DESIGN AND DATA

A rough test of the salience of the two components of occupation is possible through the use of partial correlations. Using data from the 1950 census for Hartford, Connecticut, a rank correlation coefficient, Kendall's *tau*, was computed over all census tracts for the proportion of employed males in each occupational category with (1) the proportion of employed males in every other occupational category, (2) income levels, and (3) educational levels.¹¹ Table 1 reports these correlations along with the *tau* between education and income.

The correlations presented in Table 1 are an expression of the similarity or dissimilarity of the residential distributions of the occupational categories.

Table 2 presents the partial *tau*'s between each occupational category and every other one with income controlled. In this case, the mean difference between zero-order and partial *tau*'s for each occupation represents a measure of the importance of income for the differential association of occupational categories in physical space.

Table 3 repeats this analysis, but with education rather than income controlled or "partialled out." Again, the mean difference between these figures and the simple *tau*'s represents a measure of the importance of education.

Table 4 summarizes the effects of par-

¹¹ M. G. Kendall, *Rank Correlation Methods*, London: Griffin, 1948. The data were taken from U. S. *Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. III, *Census Tract Statistics*, Chapter 23. We wish to thank Charlotte Connor, Ralph Cyphers, Isabelle Fisch, William Grace, Mary Masland, and Earl Stout for research assistance. We have omitted private household workers from consideration here because of the frequency with which they live in their employers' homes. The *income level* is the median 1949 income of families and unrelated individuals for the tract; the *educational level* is the median of school years completed by all persons over 25 in the tract. The use of these Census measures implies the following assumptions: (1) in general, a household contains one employed male, and his occupation is more significant than those of female members of the household in determining its status; (2) the income figure is a good estimate of the relative income of the households in each tract; (3) the education figure is a good estimate of the relative educational level of the heads of households in each tract. None of these assumptions seems to be unreasonable.

TABLE 1. RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS WITH OTHER OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AND WITH MEDIAN INCOME AND MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS, HARTFORD, 1950

Occupational Group	Professional, Technical	Managers, Proprietors	Sales	Clerical	Craftsmen, Foremen	Operatives	Service	Laborers	Median Income
Professionals	—								
Managers	.5638	—							
Sales	.6221	.6479	—						
Clerical	.3279	.0594	.2584	—					
Craftsmen	—.2575	—.2903	—.2586	.0596	—				
Operatives	—.6198	—.7457	—.6606	—.1485	.3291	—			
Service	—.5694	—.6132	—.5459	—.0798	.1178	.4708	—		
Laborers	—.6855	—.4913	—.6333	—.4183	.1768	.5189	.4619	—	
Median income	.5038	.5593	.4991	.1427	.0287	—.4354	—.6171	—.5491	—
Median school years	.8154	.6021	.6477	.2782	—.2418	—.6301	—.5982	—.6698	.5447

TABLE 2. PARTIAL RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS WITH OTHER OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, MEDIAN INCOME CONTROLLED, HARTFORD, 1950

Occupational Group	Professional, Technical	Managers, Proprietors	Sales	Clerical	Craftsmen, Foremen	Operatives	Service
Professionals	—						
Managers	.3935	—					
Sales	.4952	.5133	—				
Clerical	.2994	—.0249	.2182	—			
Craftsmen	—.3147	—.3697	—.3151	.0561	—		
Operatives	—.5150	—.6729	—.5682	—.0969	.3796	—	
Service	—.3803	—.4109	—.3487	.0142	.1723	.3322	—
Laborers	—.5663	—.2659	—.4960	—.4109	.2305	.3717	.1871

TABLE 3. PARTIAL RANK CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS CONTROLLED, HARTFORD, 1950

Occupational Group	Professional, Technical	Managers, Proprietors	Sales	Clerical	Craftsmen, Foremen	Operatives	Service
Professionals	—						
Managers	.1576	—					
Sales	.2131	.4240	—				
Clerical	.1818	—.1410	.1069	—			
Craftsmen	—.1456	—.2064	—.1610	.1272	—		
Operatives	—.2358	—.5908	—.4267	.0359	.2966	—	
Service	—.1760	—.3954	—.2595	.1125	—.0137	.1509	—
Laborers	—.4224	—.1485	—.3012	—.3252	.0454	.1680	.1028

tralling for income and education. The differences between the mean reductions of τ when income is controlled and when education is controlled provide one rough measure of the relative importance of these two components. The Z at the bottom of Table 4 is a simple sign test, which provides an additional measure of relative salience.¹²

¹² Frederick Mosteller and Robert R. Bush, "Selected Quantitative Techniques," in G. Lindzey,

THE RESULTS

(a) Table 1 shows the expected and often-found systematic differences in the residence editor, *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 312-314. The sign test applies, not to the mean reductions in τ reported in Table 4, but to the relative magnitude of the reductions for income and for education of the individual τ 's in Table 1. In 25 of the 28 cases, the reduction for education was greater than the reduction for income.

TABLE 4. SUMMARY OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS AND PARTIAL CORRELATIONS FOR INCOME AND EDUCATION, HARTFORD, 1950

Occupational Group	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Mean Correlation *	Mean Partial Correlation for Income *	Effect of Income (1)-(2)	Mean Partial Correlation for Education *	Effect of Education (1)-(4)	Difference in Effects (5)-(3)
Professionals	.5209	.4235	.0974	.2189	.3020	.2046
Managers	.4874	.3787	.1087	.2948	.1926	.0839
Sales	.5181	.4221	.0960	.2703	.2478	.1518
Clerical	.1931	.1601	.0330	.1472	.0459	.0129
Craftsmen	.2128	.2626	-.0498	.1423	.0705	.0321
Operatives	.4991	.4195	.0796	.2721	.2270	.1474
Service	.4084	.2637	.1447	.1730	.2354	.0907
Laborers	.4837	.3612	.1225	.2162	.2675	.1450

Sign test for relative magnitude of differences in τ_{au} for income and for education:
 $Z=3.97$, $P<.01$ (two-tailed test).

* Mean of absolute values of τ_{au} 's for specified occupation with each other occupational group.

tial distribution of the eight occupational categories in Hartford. In general, the differences conform to the rank order in which these occupations are traditionally arrayed, that is, the order in which they appear in the tables. Thus, "adjacent" occupations have relatively high τ_{au} 's while "distant" occupations have relatively low τ_{au} 's.¹³

There is one noteworthy exception to the general pattern: the service occupational category is more similar to the white-collar occupations in residential distribution than the next "highest" occupational category—the operatives. Five of the seven τ_{au} 's between the service category and other categories are thus "anomalous." The interpretation of this departure from the expected rank order that first comes to mind is the exceedingly heterogeneous character of the service category. However, this is hardly a characteristic that distinguishes the service category from the other seven.

An alternative interpretation may be tentatively suggested. The members of this

category may be quite mobile occupationally, particularly in regard both to entry into and exits from the small-business owner classification.¹⁴ If the frequency of such entries and exits is high, occupational mobility may not lead to corresponding residential mobility, a discontinuity that would account for the anomalous pattern discovered here. These findings may therefore identify one instance in which social mobility is not reflected in physical mobility.

(b) Table 2 reports the partial τ_{au} 's with income controlled, and shows that the removal of this variable generally reduces the size of τ_{au} , the mean reduction (reported in Table 4) being .0804. It appears that although its effect is fairly consistent, income is not a powerful determinant of differential residential association.

There is one illuminating exception—the craftsmen and foremen. They are, of course,

¹³ In this regard, our findings are consistent with those of Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (March, 1955), pp. 493-503; and with those of Arthur H. Wilkins, *The Residential Distribution of Occupation Groups in Eight Middle-Sized Cities of the United States in 1950*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1956. Cf. Beverly Davis, "Spatial Distribution of Occupational Groups: Chicago, 1940," *Urban Analysis Report No. 4, Chicago Community Inventory*, February, 1952, ditto.

¹⁴ Cf. Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959, pp. 172-181. The correlations between the service category and both education and income may represent an additional, though minor, bit of supportive evidence. Although the τ_{au} with education is third lowest, the τ_{au} with income is the lowest. This category may at any one time be a repository for downwardly mobile people, who nevertheless expect to and may move up again in the near future, for example, the barber who, having failed in one attempt to own his own shop, expects to make another attempt. This interpretation was initially suggested by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., in his discussion of the original paper presented to the American Sociological Association, 1959.

the elite of blue-collar workers. In their case, partialling for income shifts all of the *tau*'s with the white-collar categories toward the negative extreme, and all of the correlations with the remaining blue-collar categories toward the positive end of the scale. Thus, when income is controlled, the craftsmen appear more similar to the other blue-collar categories. In this particular instance, income seems to be quite important. It is noteworthy that the *tau*'s between the craftsman and education and income (Table 1) indicate that the difference between this elite blue-collar group and the lowest white-collar group (clericals) is much sharper with respect to education than to income. Thus, they differ more from white-collar categories in regard to education than they do as to income, while exactly the reverse holds when craftsmen are compared with the blue-collar groups.

(c) Partialling for education (Table 3) results in a mean reduction in the *tau*'s of .1986, which is almost two and one-half times as great as the corresponding reduction for income. Thus education appears to exert considerably greater influence than income on the ordering of these occupational categories in physical space.¹⁵

(d) Table 4 reinforces this finding. The sign test based upon the 28 comparisons between Tables 2 and 3 is quite significant. In all cases but one (the craftsmen), the mean reduction associated with controlling for education is greater than that associated with controlling for income.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In general, these findings lead to the conclusion that while both income and education contribute to the differences between the residential distributions of the various occupational categories, education is the

¹⁵ See Calvin F. Schmid, "Generalizations concerning the Ecology of the American City," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (February, 1950), p. 280; and Schmid, Earle H. McCannell, and Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., "The Ecology of the American City: Further Comparison and Validation of Generalizations," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (August, 1958), p. 395, for conclusions (in a considerably different idiom) concerning the importance of education in residential differentiation.

more important. Or—to the extent that education and income are adequate measures—shared values are more important than economic resources.

The findings also raise some important questions, however, concerning the meaning of "social choice" and "economic competition," and the differences between them. The surface distinction between the will to live in desirable residential areas and the ability to do so when desirable areas are scarce and therefore costly, is inadequate. Both depend upon the definition of desirability. One might conclude from this study that the main element in the desirability of a residential area to members of any occupation is its inhabitation by other people with similar occupations, and that this relationship holds at all levels of the occupational hierarchy. This deduction, we suggest, neither fits all the facts nor takes into account the manner in which shared values and resources operate together.

The seemingly deviant case of craftsmen and foremen provides a partial test of the "like attracts like" interpretation. Recall that this category was similar to white-collar groups as to income, but similar to blue-collar groups as to education. Thus the reasoning that "like attracts like" would lead to the prediction that craftsmen will seek housing in the same localities inhabited by other blue-collar workers. But the reverse seems to be the case: craftsmen and foremen apparently use their increased resources to dissociate themselves from other members of the blue-collar occupational group. This one case may be more significant than it seems, for it is precisely the ability of craftsmen, with their higher incomes, to pay more for housing that may differentiate them from other blue-collar workers.¹⁶ To some extent, they use this advantage to seek housing in higher-ranking, white-collar areas.

We suggest, then, that "style of life" as

¹⁶ For the Hartford Standard Metropolitan Area as a whole, reported 1949 median incomes for the male experienced civilian labor force were: professionals 4,254, managers and proprietors 4,204, sales workers 3,198, clerical workers 2,940, craftsmen and foremen 3,225, operatives 2,825, service workers 2,374, and laborers 2,182 dollars. *U. S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 7, Table 78.

used here is less a matter of occupational subcultures than of a general tendency of workers to identify themselves with others of similar or higher rank and to differentiate themselves from others of lower rank. For high-ranking occupations, this is evidently a matter of excluding others, while for low-ranking occupations, it is a matter of including themselves.

These findings may permit some inferences about the interaction among the three socio-economic status variables—education, income, and occupation—with respect to their influence upon patterns of residential association and mobility. It seems likely that the level of education of lower-ranking white-collar workers is chiefly responsible for their residence in high-status residential areas. Conversely, income levels appear to be more important in accounting for the location of high-ranking blue-collar workers in higher-status areas. This suggests the more general conclusion that the effects of

education and income are partially concentrated in different and separate levels of the occupational hierarchy. As to residential mobility, it would appear that educational changes are more potent among white-collar employees, and that income changes are more potent among blue-collar workers.

The relationship between physical and social space, and by inference mobility, eludes easy and excessively broad generalization. Our findings indicate that it is misleading to conceive of occupation, when used as a measure of social space, as either a single or a scalar dimension. We suggest that future research might usefully employ the following hypothesis as an efficient point of departure. The relationship between occupation and residential area varies jointly with: (a) the particular half of the occupational hierarchy to which a category belongs; and (b) the component of occupation, whether education or income, that is being investigated.

CONTROVERSY, NEUTRALITY, AND HIGHER EDUCATION *

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Data from a sample of two-year colleges in 15 states uphold the thesis that support for ideas and practices associated with academic freedom follows major structural lines of differentiation within higher education. Two classroom teaching practices are considered: discussion of controversial social issues; expression of personal viewpoints by instructors on traditional values. Categories of analysis are teaching specialization, functional status, administrative control, and institutional level. Social scientists, faculty and staff in local-autonomous colleges, and those who prefer affiliation with universities and four-year colleges are most likely to approve the practices; instructors in applied fields, librarians, faculty and staff in local-unified colleges, and those who prefer affiliation with two-year colleges and high schools are least likely to approve them. The interpretation stresses professional roles and professional ties with the general and academic communities as the intervening variables between the structure of higher education and academic opinion.

IN this paper we examine the thesis that support for ideas and practices associated with academic freedom is divided along major structural lines of professional

and institutional differentiation within higher education. Lazarsfeld and Thielens in effect consider and support this thesis in *The Academic Mind* by showing that differences among social scientists on matters of academic freedom were related to the adminis-

* Revised version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society (Association), August, 1958. The data reported here are from a larger survey sponsored by the Center for the Study of Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley. The revision has been facilitated by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation

for a study of the two-year college instructor. Burton Clark, Julius Gould, William Kornhauser, Seymour Lipset, Thomas McConnell, Leland Medsker, Leo Schnore, and Hanan Selvin were helpful in commenting on a pre-publication draft of this paper.

trative control of their colleges.¹ Here we probe the thesis further with another body of data, using as categories of analysis four major structural axes within the academic community: teaching specialization (classified broadly into the humanities, natural sciences, social sciences, applied fields); functional status (teacher, administrator, librarian); administrative control in locally supported public institutions (local-autonomous, local-unified); institutional level (four-year college, two-year college). The first two categories describe positions that serve as major bases for professional differentiation among academics and for the internal structuring of institutions of higher education; the last two describe structural forms that differentiate the institutions as total systems.

With these four categories, academic opinion was analyzed on two classroom teaching practices: (1) Should a social science instructor discuss controversial social issues? (2) Should any instructor express his personal conclusions in considering topics which require questioning of traditional values? These particular practices were selected because they bear directly on the central concept of academic freedom, the freedom of the teacher in instructing his students "to investigate and discuss the problems of his science and to express his conclusions;"² and because in modified form they replicate questions from *The Academic*

¹ Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., *The Academic Mind*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Most of the data in their study, while relevant to our general subject, are not relevant to our thesis. Except for administrative control, the categories used by Lazarsfeld and Thielens for analysis (personal characteristics like age and scholarly productivity; institutional characteristics of size and quality) do not specify structural arrangements.

² "Academic freedom is the freedom of the teacher or research worker in higher institutions of learning to investigate and discuss the problems of his science and to express his conclusions, whether through publication or in the instruction of students, without interference from political or ecclesiastical authority, or from the administrative officials of the institution in which he is employed, unless his methods are found by qualified bodies of his own profession to be clearly incompetent or contrary to professional ethics." Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Academic Freedom," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: Macmillan, 1934, Vol. 1, p. 384.

Mind and so permit comparison with that study.³

It should be clear that we did not examine faculty and staff opinion on whether or not teachers have the *right* to engage in these practices, but rather on whether or not they *should* engage in them.

It was hypothesized that the groups defined along the four structural axes would be more likely to approve these practices, (1) the stronger their professional ties to the academic community and its traditions; (2) the weaker their professional ties to the general community; (3) the greater the relevance of these practices for their professional roles.

Several facts and assumptions underlie these hypotheses. The general community prefers to avoid controversy even though ideologically it encourages competition in ideas. Thus there is a noticeable tendency for ideological support by the public at large to be limited to broad generalities while in fact such support is withdrawn with respect to certain people, certain "controversial" topics, or in certain situations.⁴ Furthermore,

³ The writer is indebted to Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., for providing him with a copy of their survey schedule considerably before publication of *The Academic Mind*. Two items from their study, as replicated in modified form in the two-year college questionnaire, read as follows:

(a) "Some claim that there hardly exists a topic in the social sciences which is not subject to controversy and difference of opinion. Now, in general, which of the following alternatives do you lean to:

Controversial matters should be discussed frequently in undergraduate teaching because of the educational value of such discussion.

One should answer controversial issues honestly when they come up, but not seek out such discussion.

In times like these it is better to avoid the discussion of controversial issues as much as possible.

Don't know."

(b) "In teaching subjects which might require questioning of traditional values, which of these two approaches do you personally feel is a better educational policy for a teacher to follow:

After proper discussion, to express his own point of view.

To give all sides of the question impartially without revealing his own views.

Hard to decide."

⁴ In various public opinion polls conducted by national agencies in 1938, between 95 and 97 per

because controversy—even if only in ideas—is likely to detract from good interpersonal relationships, there is a tendency to gloss over differences in opinion, to consider controversy as essentially immoral, and to avoid discussion of topics which might lead to controversy.⁵ In contrast, the academic community is much more apt to promote free competition in ideas as essential to the achievement of its goals.⁶ If these statements are accepted, and if the influence of a community on an individual's beliefs is likely to be strong or weak as his ties with that community are strong or weak, then hypotheses (1) and (2) above follow.

cent of the members of the samples interrogated stated that they believed in free speech. Yet large percentages of these same samples, always a plurality, opposed freedom of speech for "radicals" or "fascists," or concerning subjects like communism. See Hadley Cantril, editor, *Public Opinion, 1935-1946*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, p. 244. For an early discussion of this point, see Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, edited by Phillips Bradley, New York: Vintage Books, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 273-276.

⁵ In his commentary on American life since the First World War, Gerald W. Johnson notes that there is a scarcity of effective caricature in Pulitzer Prize Cartoons because caricature is satirical, and by definition satire is controversial. Upper-middle-class opinion is unfavorable to the use of caricature because it is opposed to controversy, and this opinion is reflected in the Pulitzer advisory committee's choices. "It is only human to find wisdom and goodness in whatever contributes to one's own ease and convenience; hence the middle class inevitably finds wisdom and goodness in tranquility and immorality in disturbance. Controversy, except on essentially trivial matters, is disturbing; and so we arrive at a curious end—a conviction on the part of great numbers of Americans that controversy is essentially immoral." *The Lines Are Drawn*, Philadelphia and New York: Lippincott, 1958, p. 22. See also Jacques Barzun, *The House of Intellect*, New York: Harper, pp. 62-64; David Daiches, "The Dangers of Literacy," *Commentary*, 28 (October, 1959), pp. 286-291.

⁶ It is not our purpose here to investigate why the two communities are different in this respect. However, we suggest that the difference is related to the fact that the role of the citizen is diffuse, with no one agency carrying the responsibility to inspire him with the "free society" ethic. Consequently, the ethic is all too often not comprehended, or comprehended only superficially. In contrast, the role of the academic man is much more explicit, specific agencies are devoted to his professional socialization, and comprehension of the academic ethic and its importance is likely to be reinforced continuously by the nature of his work.

Moreover, controversial social issues and traditional values are necessarily at the very heart of some subject fields, and for other fields they are more or less peripheral. If academics, for whose professional roles consideration of these issues and values are important, wish to fulfill their roles, hypothesis (3) follows.

The data for this investigation were drawn from a mail survey conducted in the fall and early winter of 1957-1958 among all full-time academic personnel in 74 two-year institutions of higher education in 15 states.⁷ The analysis is based on the replies of 3,125 respondents—80 per cent of those to whom questionnaires were sent.⁸

GENERAL FINDINGS

The respondents reacted quite differently to the two practices. They were almost unanimous in their opinion that controversial issues should be discussed in the social science classroom, with 93 per cent either believing that such issues should be sought out actively or at least discussed if they happened to arise. Few (two per cent) rejected the practice entirely, and a few more (five per cent) were undecided or did not reply. In contrast, opinion on the second practice was divided or unformed: 52 per cent opposed faculty expressing personal views on traditional values in the classroom,

⁷ The sample was selected to meet the requirements of a large research project on two-year colleges in which the study of faculty is only a part. The project focuses on 15 states (California, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin), which provide examples of the various organizational, financial, and control patterns present among two-year colleges. According to the 1956 *Junior College Directory*, these states accounted for 58 per cent of all two-year colleges in the country, and 76 per cent of all freshman and sophomore enrollments in two-year colleges. The 74 institutions are somewhat more than a 20 per cent sample of the two-year colleges in these fifteen states.

⁸ Total response was 89 per cent of the sample. However, we have excluded 330 persons, nine per cent, from the tabulations reported here because they were not full-time academic employees, or did not indicate their exact status in the two-year college, or completed only a short-form questionnaire (excerpted from the larger instrument) which did not include the items described in this paper.

34 per cent favored it, 14 per cent were undecided or did not reply. Clearly, academic opinion has crystallized much more concerning the one practice than the other.⁹

The difference in response to the two questions—the one response strongly affirmative and the other mildly negative—readily fits the tradition of academic freedom as it has developed in the United States. In the first place, academic opinion on controversy has a clear line of descent from two assumptions underlying academic freedom: that knowledge is not static, so old conceptions must be adjusted regularly; and that truth is more likely to emerge through the interplay and competition of ideas.¹⁰ These assumptions are universally held in free academic groups and have been major contributing factors to what little cohesion has existed in the world academic community. However, while academic thought encourages the instructor to seek out controversial issues for discussion, it also allows a passive approach (discussing these issues only if they happen to arise) although not a negative one (avoiding controversy). Secondly and contrastingly, academic opinion on expression of personal viewpoints has no such universal professional norm to follow. The German concept of the university which was so influential in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stressed the importance of the instructor's presentation of his personal convictions in the classroom since the alternative was the prescription of authoritative dogma. The instructor was not expected to be a neutral observer of life. "In the normative sciences particularly, 'professing' in Germany tended to be the presentation with aggressive finality of deep subjective convictions."¹¹ At the same

time, in the United States, there was considerable uncertainty on this point. A strong empiricist heritage with its emphasis on facts and the Darwinian influence which fostered the belief that certainty was alien to inquiry led to widespread approval of the norm of "neutrality."¹² Yet, there was ample basis for disagreement as to what this norm meant. The classic report of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure of the American Association of University Professors in 1915 seems to indicate that the norm of neutrality proscribes dogmatic and oracular teaching, but that the instructor may express his personal views on his subject if they are "conclusions gained by a scholar's methods and held in a scholar's spirit . . . the fruits of competent and patient and sincere inquiry . . . and set forth with dignity, courtesy and temperateness of language."¹³

In short, while the academic tradition is clear on the propriety of discussing controversial issues, it is not clear on the propriety of expressing personal views. Where the tradition is unambiguous, our respondents were almost unanimous in their judgments; where the tradition is subject to alternative interpretations, they were divided.

The 93 per cent of the respondents who supported discussion of controversial social issues in the social science classroom differed on whether or not the instructor should seek out such discussion: 53 per cent believed that he should, 40 per cent that he should not. In further analysis of this practice, we focus on this division, adding to the 40 per cent who favored the passive approach those few who favored avoiding controversial social issues entirely.

TEACHING SPECIALIZATION

Table 1 shows quite clearly that differences in opinion on the two teaching practices follow subject matter lines. Social scientists were most likely to endorse them, followed in order of approval by those in the humanities, the natural sciences, and the applied

⁹ What is here taken to be evidence of difference in crystallization of academic opinion may be in part the spurious result of differences in the choices available. On the practice of the discussion of controversial issues, respondents were able to select an alternative between active pursuit and outright rejection—that is, they could opt for the passive approach (free discussion of these issues if they happened to arise). On the practice of faculty expression of personal views, there was no alternative to acceptance or outright rejection except "hard to decide."

¹⁰ Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

¹¹ Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the*

United States, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, p. 388.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 400-403.

¹³ American Association of University Professors, *Bulletin*, Vol. I (1915), p. 33, as quoted in Hofstadter and Metzger, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

TABLE 1. FACULTY OPINION ON TWO TEACHING PRACTICES, BY TEACHING SPECIALIZATION

Teaching Specialization ¹	Seek Out Controversial Issues			Express Personal Views			Total Cases ²
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know	
Percentage						Percentage	
Social sciences	.67	.30	.02	.43	.46	.11	371
Humanities	.56	.41	.03	.40	.45	.15	753
Natural sciences	.50	.44	.06	.37	.48	.15	593
Applied fields	.46	.46	.08	.27	.60	.13	966

¹ The major subjects subsumed under the teaching specialization categories are as follows: *social sciences*—anthropology, economics, education, history, political science, psychology, social science, sociology; *humanities*—art, dramatics, English, fine arts, foreign languages, general humanities, journalism, language arts, library arts, music, philosophy, religion, speech; *natural sciences*—anatomy, astronomy, biology, botany, chemistry, general science, geography, geology, mathematics, physics, physiology, zoology; *applied fields*—agriculture, architecture, business, commerce, engineering, forestry, home economics, nursing, physical education, public health, secretarial subjects, technical and industrial arts.

² Excluded in this tabulation are 442 respondents who did not teach or who taught subjects in more than one of the teaching specialization areas.

fields. These results fit hypothesis (3) which points to functional relevance as an important variable in academic support for these practices. Controversial social issues and traditional values are at the core of the social sciences—they would be difficult, if not impossible, to avoid. To a considerable extent they are also relevant for the humanities (for example, philosophy and literature), for imaginative and critical writing has always been a major means of focusing attention on social issues and values. Only in the current century has a sharp division been made between the humanities and the social sciences.¹⁴ But in the natural sciences or applied fields such issues are usually judged to be extraneous to the curriculum.¹⁵

While this explanation probably accounts for part of the response pattern, including the more similar responses of the natural scientists and the applied specialists, it cannot account for the difference between these latter two groups. Here, possibly, similarity and difference in traditions—in professional ties to the academic community which tradition reflects—may be important. The social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences share a common origin in the faculty of

¹⁴ Any adequate history of intellectual ideas makes clear the common concerns of the social sciences and the humanities; for a particularly good account, see H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, New York: Knopf, 1958.

¹⁵ But not always—the Scopes trial in Tennessee in 1925 is a famous case in point.

philosophy and hold a common tradition which emphasizes knowledge for its own sake. This is not the case for the applied fields which, by definition, are oriented to practical usefulness. Furthermore, teachers of applied subjects often have close professional relationships with employers in the general community, strengthened by job market arrangements for students in their fields.¹⁶

Subsidiary analyses uphold this dual interpretation.¹⁷

FUNCTIONAL STATUS

We expected teachers to favor these practices more than do administrators or librarians. First, both practices bear on instruction and so are more relevant, func-

¹⁶ Two-year colleges frequently introduce applied courses at the request of employers who are eager to hire students after their graduation (and sometimes earlier).

¹⁷ For example: (a) Instructors who taught both social science and humanities subjects were more likely to endorse the practices than those who taught both social science and natural science subjects, or social science and applied subjects. (b) Among faculty members with graduate degrees in social science disciplines, those who taught social science subjects were more likely to endorse both practices than those who taught in other fields. (c) Among faculty members with graduate degrees in non-social science fields, those who taught social science subjects were more likely to endorse both practices than those who taught other subjects.

tionally, for teachers than for either of the other two groups. Second, data from the larger study of which this report is part, as well as impression suggest that librarians are likely to be marginal members of the academic community. To the extent to which this is in fact the case librarians are less apt than administrators or teachers to share academic views about these practices, and are more apt to take on the orientation of the general public. The administrator, however, while perhaps closely tied to the academic community, necessarily maintains wide and strong relationships in the general community as well. In his status of organizational leader, he is the institutional member most responsible for the survival and security of the college. If he is to succeed, he must adapt to outside sources of pressure and minimize risks even should this mean the partial or temporary sacrifice of some goals in order to maintain the institutional stability and support necessary to achieve other goals. Security consciousness being integral to his role, he would seem to be more likely than either the teacher or librarian to oppose any practices—including those with which we are concerned—which might arouse public opposition and bring public opprobrium on his institution. On the basis of such considerations, we were unclear as to whether administrators would be more or less approving of these practices than librarians, although we expected teachers to be more approving than either of the other groups.

Table 2 indicates distinct differences in endorsement of the two practices by functional status. For the most part, the differences are those expected: teachers were more likely to approve both practices

than were librarians; teachers were somewhat more likely to approve expression of personal views than were administrators. Contrary to expectation, however, administrators were more apt, at least in some degree, to support the discussion of controversial social issues than were teachers. Furthermore, the direction of difference between administrators and teachers with respect to each practice remains as reported when several factors bearing on views toward the practices are held constant—for example, the educational background of the respondents, their geographic location, and their age.

In considering the leadership function of the college administrator, we selected one task—that of protecting his organization—as especially significant in forming his views toward the two practices. The data, however, suggest that a coordinate responsibility—that of furthering educational goals—may be more important in shaping his opinion on the discussion of controversial social issues. Why the educational task should dominate his outlook on the one practice and the security task on the other perhaps can be explained by the relative importance of each practice for the primary objectives of the academic community, and by the relative danger of interference from the general community which each practice might provoke. Thus, there is clear evidence that the academic community believes it to be very important to have discussion of controversial issues if knowledge is to be advanced, while it is wary of faculty expression of personal views for fear that this may lead to oracular teaching and so controvert educational goals. At the same time, faculty discussion of controversial social issues may be more acceptable to the general community

TABLE 2. ACADEMIC OPINION ON TWO TEACHING PRACTICES, BY FUNCTIONAL STATUS

Functional Status*	Seek Out Controversial Issues			Express Personal Views			Total Cases
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know	
	Percentage			Percentage			
Administrators	.61	.38	.01	.32	.57	.11	195
Teachers	.52	.42	.06	.35	.51	.14	2242
Librarians	.45	.43	.12	.22	.58	.20	60

* Each functional status includes only those persons in the sample who devoted full time to that particular function.

than is faculty expression of personal views on traditional values.¹⁸

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL

Two-year colleges reflect the diversity of administrative control in the American system of higher education. The 74 institutions in the sample are sponsored by private groups, religious bodies, and by state and local governments. Here we focus on the institutions supported by local governments since they are most representative of two-year colleges and since their large number in the sample permits fairly extensive analysis.

Two types of control hierarchies are easily distinguishable within these institutions. In one, the *local-autonomous*, the two-year college has its own tax district and an autonomous board of supervisors. In the other type, the *local-unified*, the college is a branch of the local public school system, responsible to the same board as are the secondary and elementary schools in the system, administered through the same superintendent of schools, and supported by the same tax district. The importance of this difference in administrative control for the practices with which this paper is concerned lies in what we believed to be a resulting difference in the ability of two-year colleges to chart their educational program in conformity with the ideals of higher education. The local-autonomous colleges, because of their greater degree of independence, may have greater freedom to encourage competition of ideas, controversy, and non-conformity, and thus to support more strongly academic freedom practices. The local-unified institutions, in contrast, may be constrained by an administrative hierarchy whose members' primary

concern and experience are with pre-college students—students whose education stresses themes of cohesion and unity. It may be more difficult to protect the local-unified college from the community pressures that affect the pattern of education in elementary and secondary schools.¹⁹

Because 14 of the sample's 16 southern two-year colleges sponsored by local governments are autonomous, and because Southerners were considerably less likely to favor the discussion of controversial social issues than were Northerners, the present analysis concerns only the 11 local-autonomous and the 19 local-unified colleges in the North, which together include 62 per cent of the respondents.²⁰

The data in Table 3 show the expected direction of difference between the two types of schools: the staffs of local-autonomous colleges are more likely to approve each practice than are those of the local-unified colleges. Furthermore, the pattern of difference between the two types of schools remains the same within each teaching specialization and functional status group.²¹

¹⁸ Some writers suggest that this susceptibility to community pressures is an attribute of public two-year colleges generally, not only of local-unified institutions. See, e.g., David Riesman, *Constraint and Variety in American Education*, New York: Doubleday (Anchor Books), 1958, pp. 135-137.

¹⁹ Fifty-seven per cent of the northern respondents approved the seeking out of controversial social issues in contrast to 41 per cent of the southern respondents. Controlling for this sectional difference in opinion is crucial in this particular analysis because the two types of two-year colleges are so unevenly distributed between the northern and southern states. Were this control not introduced, the data on local-autonomous colleges would be biased by the heavy over-representation of Southerners, and the data on local-unified colleges biased by the heavy over-representation of Northerners. Elsewhere in this paper, sectional control is less important because Northerners and Southerners are represented in each academic group in approximately the same proportions as they are in the total sample. Nonetheless, patterns of difference with respect to teaching specialization, functional status, and institutional preference remain as reported in the text when region is controlled.

²⁰ Within each type of school the pattern of difference among teaching specialization fields and among functional status groups also remains as previously noted. The small number of librarians (ten) in northern local-autonomous schools precludes comparison among librarians along this axis.

¹⁸ This suggestion receives some support by a report of a 1936 poll among members of the Commonwealth Club of California, a prominent organization devoted to the discussion of public affairs. Of approximately 500 respondents, 58 per cent were in favor of allowing free and open discussion in high school grades of all controversial issues, and "a slight majority" opposed the proposition that teachers should be free to express their personal views on these issues. Reported in Charles Dennis Yates, *An Investigation of the Attitudes of California Laymen on the Discussion of Controversial Issues in the Schools*, unpublished Ed. D. thesis, University of Southern California, 1941, pp. 52-53.

TABLE 3. ACADEMIC OPINION ON TWO TEACHING PRACTICES FOR LOCAL-AUTONOMOUS AND LOCAL-UNIFIED TWO-YEAR COLLEGES IN NORTHERN STATES

Administrative Control	Seek Out Controversial Issues			Express Personal Views			Total Cases
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know	
	Percentage			Percentage			
Local-autonomous	.61	.33	.06	.37	.48	.15	698
Local-unified	.54	.40	.06	.32	.54	.14	1228

Type of administrative control, however, has greater significance for some of these structurally defined groups than for others. Thus, the views of social science teachers in local-autonomous and local-unified colleges are similar (74 per cent of each type approved seeking out controversial social issues; 44 per cent of the former and 39 per cent of the latter approved the expression of personal views), but administrators' views are quite different (78 per cent in local-autonomous colleges approved seeking out controversial social issues compared to 56 per cent in local-unified colleges; 42 per cent in the former approved the expression of personal views compared to 32 per cent in the latter.)

INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

We expected that faculty and staff in the two-year colleges, because of their psychological and, sometimes, physical proximity to the high school and the pattern of secondary education, would be less likely to endorse these practices than their counterparts in four-year colleges. The two-year colleges are relatively separated from the major sources of support for academic freedom, which lie in the upper echelons of higher education as represented in the advanced years of undergraduate training and in graduate schools. Moreover, the American

Association of University Professors, in effect, has endorsed a more cautious approach to these practices by instructors in lower division courses than by those teaching more advanced work.²²

Comparison of data from the Lazarsfeld-Thielens investigation with data from this study shows essentially no difference between the two social science groups on either practice, as indicated in Table 4. The slight difference on the question about expression of personal opinion is readily attributable to the more moderate version of the question in the two-year college study.²³

²² "In many of our American colleges, and especially in the first two years of the course, the student's character is not yet fully formed, his mind is still relatively immature. In these circumstances it may reasonably be expected that the instructor will present scientific truth with discretion, that he will introduce the students to new conceptions gradually, with some consideration for the student's preconceptions and traditions, and with due regard to character-building." *Bulletin, op. cit.*, p. 35, as quoted in Hofstadter and Metzger, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-411. (Italics added.)

²³ Comparison is limited to social scientists because the Lazarsfeld-Thielens study concerned only social scientists. The question on expression of personal views is the same in both studies except for the wording of the affirmative alternative. Thus: Lazarsfeld-Thielens study—"After proper discussion, to argue in a measured way for his own point of view." Two-year college study—"After proper discussion, to express his own point of view." (Italics added in both cases.)

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS' VIEWS ON TWO TEACHING PRACTICES IN FOUR-YEAR AND TWO-YEAR COLLEGES

College Level	Seek Out Controversial Issues			Express Personal Views			Total Cases
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know	
	Percentage			Percentage			
Four-year college *	.68	.28	.04	.38	.44	.18	2451
Two-year college	.67	.30	.02	.43	.46	.11	371

* Data from Lazarsfeld and Thielens, *The Academic Mind*, p. 135; see footnote 1 for full reference.

TABLE 5. ACADEMIC OPINION ON TWO TEACHING PRACTICES BY INSTITUTIONAL PREFERENCE

Institutional Preference	Seek Out Controversial Issues			Express Personal Views			Total Cases*
	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know	
Percentage						Percentage	
University	.61	.34	.05	.39	.49	.12	654
Four-year college	.55	.39	.06	.38	.47	.15	899
Two-year college	.49	.43	.08	.31	.56	.13	1448
High school	.44	.45	.11	.14	.64	.22	62

* Sixty-two respondents who did not specify their preference are excluded from the tabulation.

Other data, however, suggest that there may be important differences by college level which are not revealed in the necessarily very limited present comparison of the two studies. Participants in the two-year college sample were asked at which educational level they would prefer to teach or work: "If you had your choice, and if salary schedules, promotion opportunities, retirement benefits, job security, etc., were equal in each type of educational institution, in which would you prefer to teach (work)?—Junior college, four-year college, university, high school." As shown in Table 5, those who preferred the university and four-year college were most likely to support the practices, those who favored the high school were least likely, with those who selected the two-year college between the extremes.²⁴ The direction of difference in approval of these practices is consistently similar within each of the fields of teaching specialization, and within each of the functional status groups. The greatest difference in response by college level categories was made by librarians and administrators. For example, 63 per cent of the librarians who opted for the university or four-year college approved discussion of controversial social issues, compared to 34 per cent who preferred the two-year college; 38 per cent of the former ap-

proved expression of personal views compared to 12 per cent of the latter. Corresponding figures for administrators are 69 and 59 per cent, respectively, in the case of controversial issues; and 49 and 27 per cent, respectively, in the case of personal expression of views. In extreme contrast, the figures for social science teachers are 72 and 62 per cent, respectively, on the one practice; and 44 and 42 per cent, respectively, on the second practice.

CONCLUSION

The data reported in this paper support the major thesis presented at the outset. On the two practices considered, both central to the concept of academic freedom, faculty and staff opinions were divided along principal structural lines of professional and institutional differentiation within higher education. The proffered interpretation points to professional roles and professional ties to the general and academic communities as intervening variables between the structure of higher education and academic opinion. However, the interpretation does not exclude the possibility that there are other intervening variables operative here, or even that the relationship between institutional structure and academic opinion may in part reflect their interconnection with factors other than those examined—for example, with differential recruitment.

In effect, the thesis and interpretation apply to the academic world two axioms of sociological theory: that men's ideas and actions to a considerable extent are determined by the positions they occupy in a social system, and by the over-all form of the structure of that system.

The data suggest three additional proposi-

²⁴ The greater support given to the discussion of controversial issues by those preferring the university over the four-year college emphasizes the interpretation that has been made. For the university with its component graduate school is the institution at the apex of higher education. In addition, among institutions of higher education the university has the strongest research tradition and research function—both of which buttress the view that controversy in ideas is essential in the search for truth.

tions which concern the possible effect of over-all structural form on an academic group's support for ideas and practices associated with academic freedom: (1) The effect will be *muted* if the idea or practice is crucial to the group's professional role. This is most clearly exemplified by the social scientists whose views differed little by institutional level or by type of administrative control. (2) The effect will be *enhanced* if

general community ties are crucial to the group's professional role. This is best illustrated by the administrators whose views varied greatly by institutional preference and by type of administrative control. (3) The effect also will be *enhanced* if the academic group is marginal to the academic community. This is exemplified by the librarians whose views varied greatly by institutional preference.

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION AND THE URBAN HIERARCHY*

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A good deal of research suggests a hierarchy of urban and metropolitan functions. The functions so organized are described in two ways. The first characterizes them in terms of dominance.¹ It emphasizes the importance of the higher-order city in integration of the division of labor among lower-order towns. It sees the higher-order city as mediating relationships between its subordinate towns and other places.

The second approach characterizes these functions in terms of the provision of central goods or services.² Towns at each level of the hierarchy presumably produce a characteristic good or service. This good or service is produced in all places of higher order but in no places of lower order.

A regularity suggesting a hierarchy of dominance relationships is the orderly variation of occupational composition with city size.³ In general, as size becomes larger, the percentage of workers in manual occupations decreases and the percentage in white-collar work increases. The most striking gradient is the proportion in clerical and kindred occupations, ranging in an orderly fashion from about eight per cent of the labor force in small villages to nearly 18

* This is paper No. 6 in the series, "Comparative Urban Research," issuing from the Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago, under a grant from the Ford Foundation. Financial support for compiling the tables of industry by size of place was provided by the Social Sciences Research Committee of the University of Chicago and this compilation was carried out by Nathaniel Hare. Copies of these unpublished tables will be supplied by the Population Research and Training Center for the cost of photoduplication.

¹ See Rupert B. Vance and Sara Smith, "Metropolitan Dominance and Integration," in P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss, Jr., editors, *Cities and Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 103-119.

² See Edward Ullman, "A Theory of Location for Cities," in Hatt and Reiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-236.

³ Otis Dudley Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities*, 1950, New York: Wiley, 1956, p. 97.

per cent in large cities. Of this gradient Duncan remarks:

This finding accords with the supposition that large cities are focal points for administration and coordinating functions, requiring a sizable complement of personnel to keep records and channel communications. The pronounced size gradient in proportion of clerical workers is, therefore, presumptive evidence of a "dominance" gradient by city size.⁴

It has also been demonstrated, however, that the industrial composition of cities varies with size.⁵ The pattern of this variation, in at least some important particulars, can be satisfactorily interpreted by central-place theory. This poses a challenge to the interpretation of occupational gradients in terms of dominance. Certainly there is a relationship between the industrial composition of a city and its occupational composition. Is it possible that regular variation in occupational composition may be merely the result of variation in industrial composition? If this were the case, we might explain gradients in occupational employment as derivative of findings tentatively accounted for by central-place theory. We could eschew the interpretation of these gradients as evidence for a dominance gradient with city size and thereby simplify our set of explanatory concepts.

To shed light on this issue we standardized the occupational composition of size-of-place groups for their industrial composition by the indirect method. The effect of standardization is to reveal the variation in occupational composition that would occur if each size-of-place group had the same industrial composition. If, upon standardization, occupational variations indicative of dominance do not disappear, we must look elsewhere to simplify our concepts.

Standardization is accomplished as follows:

⁴ Otis Dudley Duncan, "Population Distribution and Community Structure," *Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology*, 22 (1957), p. 366.

⁵ See Hal H. Winsborough, "Variations in Industrial Composition with City Size," *Papers and Proceedings: The Regional Science Association*, 5 (1959), p. 121. See also Otis Dudley Duncan et al., *Metropolis and Region*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960, Chapter 3.

For each size-of-place category, persons employed in each industry are distributed into major occupation groups on the basis of the industry-specific occupational composition of the United States as a whole.⁶ The contributions of each industry to each occupation are summed and an expected occupational composition computed. This is the composition one would expect if each size-of-place group had the industry-specific occupational composition of the United States as a whole and each its own unique industrial composition. (This composition is called the "expected" composition in the following discussion.) If one subtracts, occupation by occupation, the expected from the actual composition, differences must be due to an industry-specific occupational composition different from that of the United States as a whole. In comparing these differences for size groups, then, we are examining variation in occupational composition due to differences in industry-specific occupational composition alone with variation in industrial composition "held constant." It is convenient to add the composition of the United States as a whole to these differences for each size group. The resulting composition is regarded as the occupational composition of the size groups, standardized for industrial composition.

Since there are marked differences in occupational composition by sex, the standardization has been calculated separately for males and females.

The effects of standardization on the occupational data lead to the following observations. If one computed an index of dissimilarity between the actual composition of the largest and the smallest size groups shown in Table 1, the index is 11.73 for males and 16.23 for females.⁷ After standardization, this dissimilarity

⁶ Industrial composition by size-of-place groups was compiled from the 41 item "condensed" industrial classification for each urbanized area and each urban place not in an urbanized area available in the *United States Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of Population*, Parts 2-50, Tables 35 and 39. Actual occupational composition by size of place was taken from *United States Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. IV, *Special Reports*, Part 5, Chapter A, "Characteristics by Size of Place." Industry-specific occupation rates for the United States as a whole were computed from *United States Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. IV, *Special Reports*, Part 1, Chapter C, "Occupation by Industry."

⁷ To determine the index of dissimilarity between the occupational composition of the largest and the smallest size group, the difference in the percentage employed between the two groups, for each occupation is computed. One half the sum

TABLE 1. ACTUAL, EXPECTED, AND STANDARDIZED PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE LABOR FORCE IN PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED OCCUPATIONS, UNITED STATES, 1950

	Actual	Ex- pected	Stand- ardized
Urbanized areas			
3,000,000 or more	11.79	10.66	13.47
1,000,000 to 3,000,000	12.35	11.87	12.82
250,000 to 1,000,000	11.97	11.74	12.57
50,000 to 250,000	12.47	12.43	12.38
Urban places outside urbanized areas			
25,000 or more	13.89	14.05	12.18
10,000 to 25,000	13.54	14.13	11.75
2,500 to 10,000	13.56	13.98	11.92

is 6.91 for males and 6.63 for females. Both before and after standardization and for males and females, these groups are the most dissimilar of any pair. The difference between these indexes before and after standardization, then, is some measure of how much more homogeneous for size is standardized composition than actual composition. Hence this difference is an indication of the magnitude of the effect of industrial composition on the variation in occupational composition with size.

Now the question arises of the gradients over size in the percentage employed in a given occupation.⁸ Table 1 presents, as an example, the actual percentages, the percentages expected on the basis of the industrial composition of the groups, and the standardized percentages of women employed in professional, technical, and kindred occupations in each size-of-place category. There is a negative gradient with size in the actual and the expected percentage of women employed in these occupations. The actual gradient, then, is similar to the one expected on the basis of the industrial composition of the size groups. The standardized gradient, however, reverses direction, and shows a positive relationship with size. Thus, the effect of variation in industrial composition has not only masked, but actually reversed, the gradient for employment in this occupation.

A convenient way to summarize gradients like those in Table 1 is by rank order correlation. Table 2 presents Kendall's *tau* for actual,

of the absolute values of these differences is the index of dissimilarity.

⁸ For further investigation of variations in composition as a whole, see Hallinan H. Winsborough, "Variation in Industrial and Occupational Composition by City Size," unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1959.

TABLE 2. RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS (τ_{au}) BETWEEN SIZE OF PLACE AND ACTUAL, EXPECTED, AND STANDARDIZED PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN EACH OCCUPATION, BY SEX, UNITED STATES, 1950

Major Occupation Group	Male			Female		
	Actual	Expected	Standardized	Actual	Expected	Standardized
Professional, technical and kindred	.90 ¹	.52	.71 ²	— .71 ²	— .71 ²	.90 ¹
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	— .05	.33	— .52	— .24	.33	— .43
Clerical and kindred	1.00 ¹	.81 ¹	1.00 ¹	.90 ¹	.90 ¹	1.00 ¹
Sales workers	.29	.57	.24	—1.00 ¹	— .14	— .90 ¹
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred	.33	.24	— .33	.90 ¹	1.00 ¹	.43
Operatives and kindred	— .81 ¹	— .19	— .90 ¹	— .05	— .05	— .71 ²
Private household	.24	— .71 ²	.76 ²	—1.00 ¹	—1.00 ¹	— .43
Service, except private household	.71 ²	.81 ¹	.57	— .90 ¹	— .81 ¹	— .81 ¹
Laborers, except farm and mine	—1.00 ¹	— .81 ¹	— .43	— .43	.86 ¹	— .81 ¹
Farmers and farm managers	— .90 ¹	— .90 ¹	.90 ¹	— .76 ²	— .86 ¹	.57
Farm laborers and farm foremen	— .90 ¹	— .90 ¹	— .86 ¹	—1.00 ¹	— .90 ¹	.14

¹ Significant at .01 level.² Significant at .05 level.

expected, and standardized percentages employed in each occupation.

Table 2 suggests that regular variation in occupational composition with size cannot be explained solely by industrial composition. Rather, the data suggests a dominance gradient independent of the effects of such composition. The notion of a dominance gradient with size implies that occupations having administrative or coordinating functions should be centered in larger towns and conversely, that occupations without these functions should not be so centered.

For both male and female "clerical and kindred" workers, the positive gradient with size remains after standardization; as it does for male "professional, technical, and kindred" workers. For females, as noted above, a negative gradient reverses direction after standardization to match our expectation.

A dominance gradient may be noted even in farm occupations. Before standardization, of course, for both farmers and farm laborers, there is a negative gradient with size. After standardization, when the tendency for agriculture to be located in smaller places and rural areas has been held constant, farmers and farm managers show a positive gradient with size

while male farm laborers show a negative gradient. This finding suggests that the administration of farming is done in larger places, on the average, than the actual production.

We might also expect "managers, officials, and proprietors" to show a positive gradient with size. This census category, however, is heterogeneous for our purposes, including both officials in larger firms and proprietors of small shops. The former, presumably, do some administration, the latter, less. If it were possible to separate managers and officials from proprietors, we would expect the first two groups to demonstrate a positive gradient with size.

The converse of our expectation also seems to hold. Occupations having little administrative or coordinating function show, by and large, insignificant or negative gradients with size after standardization. The only significant positive gradient among these occupations is for male private household workers; the gradient is regular but the increases are so small as to make the findings of little importance.

Some occupations, which might be characterized as "productive" rather than administrative, seem to show a rather clear negative gradient with size. Male "operative and kindred workers" demonstrate a negative gradient both

before and after standardization, while female workers of this category show the gradient only after standardization. For male "laborers, other than farm," a negative gradient holds before but not after standardization. For female laborers, on the other hand, the gradient is stronger after standardization than before. These gradients may indicate a tendency for producing functions to be located disproportionately at the lower end of the urban hierarchy.

Finally, the comparison, for each size group, of the occupational composition of males with that of females reveals a regular pattern with size. Before standardization, there is a gradient in indexes of dissimilarity between male and female occupations for each size group, ranging from the largest to the smallest size group as follows: 35.62, 39.90, 40.95, 39.85, 40.50, 41.96, 43.96. Thus, the sexes are more highly differentiated in small places than in large ones. After standardization, the range of the differences is reduced, but the gradient in indexes remains: 41.16, 42.01, 42.57, 42.63, 42.54, 43.65, 44.88. Thus, varying differentiation in occupation between sexes by size of place is not solely a product of varying industrial composition.

In summary, this investigation demonstrates that regular variation of occupational composition with city size cannot be explained solely by variation in industrial composition. The findings are consistent with Duncan's original interpretation: dominance seems to have effects separate from those predicted by central-place theory. While that theory is an insufficient explanation of the urban hierarchy, we are not yet prepared to dispense with either it or dominance theory in the interest of conceptual parsimony.

TRAFFIC FATALITIES, SUICIDE, AND HOMICIDE

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The objective of this study is to test the prediction that rates of death caused by motor vehicle accidents, if appropriately compared with rates of suicide and homicide by matched population groups, would prove to be similarly distributed, or positively correlated with the combined rates of the latter. This prediction is based on the postulate that a significant number of drivers of "death dealing" cars, as well as their victims, have attitudes similar to those

who become involved in suicide and homicide. A postulate, however, must have a rationale.¹

RATIONALE

Motor vehicles are "deadly weapons." They are involved in accidents accounting for nearly 40,000 deaths annually, and many more disabilities. Students of this growing problem look for technological remedies, and expect help from driver education. Signs stand out on highways to admonish, "If you drive, don't drink. If you drink, don't drive." But the fatality rate grows.²

Some influences on rates of death caused by traffic accidents may be other than lack of driver education, driver fatigue, deficiencies of roads or of machines, or the fact that the driver "took one for the road." And some of these influences may have deep roots in driver attitudes which cannot be separated from a given type of personality.

For example, it may be predicted that drivers who have little regard for their own lives or the lives of others or both, ("other things equal") will have higher rates of accidents than drivers who place a high value on human life. As a corollary, if the populations of some areas have a higher ratio of persons who do not value life than have other areas, it may be predicted that the former populations will experience more motor vehicle fatalities than the latter.

¹ For theories relating to suicide and homicide, see Andrew F. Henry and James F. Short, *Suicide and Homicide*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954, pp. 101-125. Cf. Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor*, translated by George Simpson, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1933, pp. 245-250; Durkheim, *Suicide*, translated by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951, pp. 252-254; Karl Menninger, *Man Against Himself*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938, pp. 24ff. Observe that, in Part III, Menninger discusses "chronic suicide" under chapter headings such as "asceticism and martyrdom," "neurotic invalidism," "alcohol addiction," "antisocial behavior," and "psychosis." Chapter 5 is on "purposive accidents." Some of these "purposive accidents" include auto accidents as cases.

² In 1957, motor vehicle accidents accounted for 38,500 deaths in the United States. There was a slight decrease in 1958. In 1954-1955, the motor vehicle accident death rate was 34.6 per 100,000 males; among males 20-24 years of age, it was nearly twice as great (78.9). The all-female rate was 11.2 and in the age group 20-24 was only one-sixth that of the males. Between 1946-1947 and 1956-1957, pedestrian motor fatalities went down, but non-pedestrian rates went up by 20 per cent. See The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Statistical Bulletin*, New York: 39 (March, 1958), pp. 9-10.

These hypotheses raise the problem of comparing populations with respect to their numbers who have more or less regard for life. This problem may not be completely without solution, for variations in suicide and homicide rates have been suggested as indexes of such proportions—that is, of those who lack respect for life.³

If, then, it is determined that some populations have higher combined rates of suicide and homicide than have comparable populations, it follows that the former populations will have a higher rate of fatal motor vehicle accidents than the latter. Is this prediction supported by ascertainable facts?

PROCEDURE

Following the rationale, it seems appropriate to begin by comparing age-adjusted rates of death from motor vehicle accidents with rates of suicide and homicide among white males and females in the 60 largest metropolitan areas of the United States; and, then, to make comparisons by states. These comparisons are not based on the naive assumption that a single factor "causes" the results, or that all related variables can be known. Passenger-mile rates of traffic fatalities for example, cannot be computed for metropolitan populations, or for any other units smaller than states.⁴ The aim, however, is not to match out a great number of separable factors, but to test the prediction that a positive relationship exists between two statistical series.

The source of the data on which the first comparison is based is *Comparative Mortality Among Metropolitan Areas in the United States, 1949-1951: 102 Causes of Death*,⁵ which in-

³ Austin L. Porterfield, "Indices of Suicide and Homicide by States and Cities: Some Southern-Non-Northern Contrasts with Implications for Further Research," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (August, 1949), pp. 481, 490; Porterfield, "Suicide and Crime in Folk in Secular Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (January, 1952), pp. 331-338; Porterfield and Robert H. Talbert, "Crime in Southern Cities," in R. Vance and N. J. Demerath, editors, *The Urban South*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954, Chapter 9.

⁴ *The Statistical Bulletin*, *op. cit.*, recognizes changes in the number of passenger miles traveled between 1946-1947 and 1956-1957 as a factor to be considered in determining rates of increase in traffic fatalities.

⁵ Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957, Section I, pp. 34-35. This is *Public Health Publication No. 562* of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, prepared under the direction of Dr. Wilton M. Fisher, Chief

cludes 163 metropolitan areas. The data employed here are limited to 60 of these areas for the period 1949-1951. Because the proximity of the data to the decennial census contributes to the accuracy of the estimates no later estimates on rates in metropolitan areas are employed.

The age-adjusted rates of death caused by motor vehicle accidents per 100,000 white males in all 163 areas is 27.8. The metropolitan suicide rate (18.5) and the homicide rate (3.4) are combined.⁶ The sum of the two (21.9) is readily comparable with the rate of motor vehicle fatalities area by area.

The nature of this comparison becomes clear in Table 1. The table contains index scores for all rates among males and females, treated as separate categories, in 39 of the 60 metropolitan areas—the 39 areas in which the suicide-homicide rates among white males rise above 115 per cent of the all-metropolitan rate of 21.9 or fall below it by 15 per cent or more. For example, Houston's combined male suicide-homicide rate (35.1) is 160 per cent of the all-metropolitan rate of 21.9; but the rates in Fall River-New Bedford and in Providence are 13.1 or only 60 per cent of the all-metropolitan rate. Hence, if these percentages are treated as index numbers, Houston's suicide-homicide score becomes 160, while the score for each of the two latter areas falls to 60. The index scores for motor traffic fatalities are determined in the same way.

OUTCOMES OF THE COMPARISON

When the two series for males (including all 60 areas)⁷ are compared (for the Pearsonian *rho*), the relationship proves to be highly positive (.70).⁸ For females, *rho* is .45. If the

of the Air Pollution Medical program, with Nicholas E. Manos as the Chief Statistician. The age-adjusted rates are those given in the publication.

⁶ Each "cause of mortality" in this extensive table appears in the column at the head of which is given the all-metropolitan ratio for that cause as compared with the national rate. The national rate for each cause is given on page 103 of *Comparative Mortality*—see note 5. The all-metropolitan rate in each instance is its proportion of the national rate.

⁷ The areas with indexes above 100 but less than 115 among white males are Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Cincinnati, Dallas, Fort Worth, Kansas City, Knoxville, Norfolk-Portsmouth, Washington, and Wheeling-Steubenville. Those with indexes below 100 but above 85 are Chicago, Dayton, Hartford, Memphis, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Oklahoma City, St. Louis, and Youngstown.

⁸ *S.E.* <.04.

TABLE 1. INDICES OF AGE-ADJUSTED RATES OF SUICIDE-HOMICIDE AND MOTOR TRAFFIC FATALITIES AMONG WHITE MALES AND FEMALES IN LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1949-1951

Metropolitan Areas	Suicide-Homicide Index		Motor Traffic Deaths Index	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Houston	160	117	150	111
San Diego	153	113	188	178
Seattle	151	130	100	100
Denver	149	146	113	122
San Francisco-Oakland	142	175	125	122
Tampa-St. Petersburg	134	147	125	122
Los Angeles	134	143	113	133
San Antonio	132	115	125	111
Phoenix	129	134	225	167
Nashville	128	101	150	111
Portland	126	100	125	111
Charleston, W. Va.	121	110	163	111
Richmond	121	143	138	78
Miami	117	147	113	148
Toledo	117	100	138	144
Louisville	116	109	125	111
Indianapolis	116	115	125	122
<i>All metropolitan areas*</i>	100	100	100	100
Columbus, Ohio	85	88	100	111
Pittsburgh	85	97	88	67
Syracuse	85	70	88	89
Newark-Jersey City	85	106	63	44
Bridgeport	85	112	63	67
Akron	83	123	113	89
New Haven	83	88	63	56
Detroit	81	97	125	122
Philadelphia	81	82	75	67
Cleveland	80	94	88	78
Milwaukee	79	66	88	100
New Orleans	79	67	75	67
Rochester	78	97	88	78
Buffalo	74	56	100	89
Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton	74	60	75	67
Springfield-Holyoke	73	78	63	67
Boston	73	76	63	56
Worcester	73	73	63	56
New York	72	92	50	56
Albany-Schenectady-Troy	69	75	88	89
Fall River-New Bedford	60	76	63	44
Providence	60	60	63	44

* All areas of the 60 compared that deviate less than 15 per cent from the mean rates of suicide-homicide among white males are omitted in this table. Let 100 in column 1 equal the rate 21.9; in column 2, 7.1; in column 3, 27.8; in column 4, 9.7.

homicide rate alone is compared with deaths from motor mishaps among males, the coefficient is .59, and among females, .53. If the suicide rate alone is compared with motor accident deaths among men, the coefficient is .47, and among females, only .29.

As it has been shown elsewhere,⁹ some populations more readily express frustration through suicide and others through violence against

others. But both tendencies need to be included in the present comparisons.

Since men preponderate among drivers, and women more often occupy the adjacent "suicide seat," it is pertinent to compare male suicide-homicide rates with female auto death rates. When this comparison is made by correlating the two series (as in columns 1 and 4 of Table 1), the coefficient is .61. It may be of interest that the relationship of the male suicide-homicide series is statistically closer (.61 as compared with .53) to the female traffic death series than the female suicide-homicide series

⁹ Austin L. Porterfield and Robert H. Talbert, *Mid-Century Crime in Our Culture*, Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1954, Chapters 2-6.

is to the female traffic death series. More needs to be known about the variables involved in this comparison.

OUTCOME BY STATES

Since the flow of traffic in and out of metropolitan areas is a factor in traffic fatalities, it is important to compare areas as large as states in which this flow is less pronounced, and in which there is a more exclusive interplay of resident drivers and pedestrians. Therefore, the suicide-homicide and traffic fatality rates have been compared by states. Crime rates, as reported in *Uniform Crime Reports*, adjusted to changes in population to 1955, have also been included in the comparison,¹⁰ as well as the variable of auto death rates per 100,000,000 passenger miles.

The results of these comparisons are partially shown in Table 2, which contains index scores for the designated conditions in the top fourth and the bottom fourth of the states during the period 1954-1956. The index of motor traffic fatalities in the first column is for the total population by 100,000,000 passenger miles (1954-1956).¹¹ The mean annual rate in the nation was 6.5 (which represents the score 100). The index of traffic deaths among white males per 100,000 is shown in the second column. The mean annual rate was 33.3 per 100,000 white males of all ages (1954-1956).¹²

¹⁰ The rates, as given in *Uniform Crime Reports*, 25 (1954), p. 93, 26 (1955), p. 93, and 27 (1956), p. 89, for the designated "Part One" offenses (murder, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and auto theft) are adjusted to changes in the population as estimated by the Bureau of the Census as of July 1, 1955 (*Current Population Reports*, Series 1, P-25, November 8, 1955).

¹¹ A readily available source of the estimates of rates of death caused by traffic accidents per 100,000,000 passenger miles traveled is the *World Almanac and Book of Facts*, New York: New York World-Telegram and Sun, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, and 1960. This source annually includes a section on "Vital Statistics," compiled from reports of the National Office of Vital Statistics.

¹² "Deaths from 64 Selected Causes by Age, Race, and Sex: Each State," *Vital Statistics of the United States: Mortality Data*, Volume II (1954), Table 52 B; (1955), Table 55 B; (1956), Table 64 B. These reports are publications of the Public Health Service, United States Department of Education, Health, and Welfare, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956, 1957, and 1958, respectively. The rates employed in estimating the indexes are adjusted to population estimates of the Bureau of the Census cited in note 10 above. One limitation of the reliability of the rates is the assumption that the white male population changed by the same percentage as the total population.

The male white suicide-homicide index score of 100 for the nation is based on a mean annual rate of 20 per 100,000 in this category (third column, Table 2). To expand the data so as to include an index of a reckless attitude toward property as well as life, which seems to be the attitude of numerous drivers toward their own autos, the mean of the indexes of six offenses (murder, burglary, aggravated assault, robbery, larceny, and auto theft) during 1954-1956 is shown in the fourth column of Table 2.

A positive relationship exists between the passenger-mile traffic death rate and suicide-homicide rate among the male white population ($\rho = .72$). Between the passenger-mile death index and the six-offense crime index in the total population $\rho = .62$. The suicide index is not included here because it should not be combined with the crime index.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The prediction that rates of death caused by motor vehicle accidents are positively correlated with suicide-homicide rates is supported by comparisons of the data. No doubt other factors contribute to the observed positive relationships. But it was the driver attitude rationale that led to the comparison of given variables, not such other factors as differences in social structure, mobility, composition of population, and social controls. Whatever factors play a part in the positive correlation of suicide-homicide, other crimes, and accident death rates, there is no reason to doubt that aggressive, hazardous driving is likely to be characteristic of persons similar to those who have suicidal or homicidal or both tendencies—and *vice versa*.¹³

¹³ One reader comments that "the results are consistent with the rationale; and it is a plausible rationale." Still, what is shown is not quite this. If areas with high rates of the one have high rates of the other, "it is quite conceivable that the same general conditions that generate the suicide prone and the homicide prone also generate the accident prone, but that different people are involved—e.g., different sorts of personalities react respectively in one or the other way to those general conditions. The logic is the same as that involved in any ecological correlation, and it might be appropriate to note such a possibility."

We may well note this possibility. But just what would lead the investigator to begin with the prediction that "the same general conditions that generate the suicide prone and the homicide prone" would "also generate the accident prone?" Could he make a prediction about similarities of the milieu that produce given types of personality without a prior consideration of the similarities of these types? If he should do so, what would

TABLE 2. INDEXES OF MOTOR TRAFFIC FATALITIES, SUICIDE-HOMICIDE, AND MAJOR CRIMES KNOWN TO THE POLICE, COMPARED BY STATES, 1954-1956

States	Index Traffic Deaths		Index Suicide and Crime	
	Total Population by Miles Traveled ¹	White Males per 100,000 Population ²	Suicide-Homicide, White Males ²	Major Crimes Total Population ³
New Mexico	155	156	86	114
Arizona	151	154	133	176
South Carolina	148	142	107	115
Nevada	145	180	236	188
Alabama	140	148	121	142
Kentucky	140	125	114	174
Wyoming	128	182	146	70
Idaho	128	147	110	70
Louisiana	126	115	86	135
Georgia	122	143	126	164
Montana	122	149	144	91
Arkansas	120	123	67	113
United States	100	100	100	100
Colorado	88	114	131	121
Minnesota	86	94	85	60
New York	83	63	74	88
Nebraska	82	112	97	62
Washington	77	86	129	91
Pennsylvania	75	80	86	75
Maine	69	87	113	43
New Hampshire	68	85	100	27
Rhode Island	60	45	54	54
New Jersey	58	63	72	64
Massachusetts	57	52	61	50
Connecticut	52	64	88	49

¹ Source: *World Almanac . . .*, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957 (see footnote 11).

² Source: *Vital Statistics . . .*, 1954, 1955, 1956 (see footnote 12); rates adjusted to estimates of change in population.

³ Source: *Uniform Crime Reports*, 1954, 1955, 1956 (see footnote 10); rates adjusted as in third column.

The metropolitan data (1949-1951) and the data for the states (1954-1956) leave little room for such a doubt. They suggest, however, the need for further research which will incorporate case studies of accident prone drivers, and which will seek information about attitudes of drivers and riders and about their family, class, educational, and vocational backgrounds. It might be enlightening, for example, to take a census of a sample of wrecked-car cemeteries and to study the "life-histories" of automobiles

lead him to the hypothesis that similar ecological conditions are the common source of suicidal, homicidal, and accident prone people who behave in different ways because they may have developed into "different sorts of persons" in similar ecological backgrounds? Such a rationale would have to make room for a milieu which produces a *positive* correlation between different types of behavior and, at the same time, the "different sorts of persons" who "react respectively in one way or the other" to yield these positively correlated "different" types of response.

and their owners. But sociologists have shown little interest in traffic behavior. If this comparison of suicide-homicide rates with rates of death from traffic accidents stimulates further research, it will have served an important purpose.¹⁴

¹⁴ The leading sociological journals contain very few reports on research in this area, although formulations by Durkheim, Menninger (see note 1), Talcott Parsons (*The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 430-431), Freud, and others seem to suggest that the problem has sociological and psychological relevance. There are numerous popular articles in various media under such titles as "Drunks and Dashboards," "Your Emotions Can Kill You," "By Their Accidents You Shall Know Them," "Neurotics at the Wheel," "Jerks on Wheels," "Who Invited Disaster?" and "Who Are the Criminals?" "Soreheads Are Death's Head" was written by a sociologist, Louis Balsam; it is based on case studies of 600 accidents, and first appeared in *Kiwanis Magazine*, February, 1952, and subsequently in *Reader's Digest*, 60 (March, 1952), pp. 14-16.

THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

ENCROACHMENT, CHARLATANISM, AND THE EMERGING PROFESSION: PSY- CHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, AND MEDICINE *

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An industrializing society is a professionalizing society.

Two indices of this relationship may be drawn from American experience: One is an increase in the proportion of the labor force in the white-collar occupations generally, and the professions and semi-professions specifically. The other is the increase in the number of occupations trying to acquire the symbols of professional status, following a program of action spearheaded by their formal associations, which might lead to recognition as professions.¹

Societies at similar states of industrialization may grant a roughly equivalent prestige ranking to the same occupation, such as lawyer, physician, or university professor,² but such rankings are the consequence of a complex struggle for power, recognition, and income among all occupations. In an expanding society, many occupations do rise, but at certain junctures this is a zero-sum game: necessarily, some will also decline. Viewing this process as a plant ecologist might study the succession of trees after a forest fire, we might conclude

* Presidential address read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, April, 1960. I am especially indebted to Edgar F. Borgatta for his aid in locating specific data on events described in this paper. Matthew B. Miles of Teachers College and Harry P. Smith of the College of Physicians and Surgeons have helped me considerably by reading an earlier draft and have also directed me to overlooked material.

¹ See, e.g., Howard R. Bowen, "Business Management: A Profession?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 297 (January, 1955), p. 114; and E. W. Roddenberry, "Achieving Professionalism," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 44 (May-June, 1953), p. 110.

² Alex Inkeles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (January, 1956), pp. 329-339.

that ultimately most occupations will "professionalize," that is, be engaged in developing a body of abstract knowledge, dedicated to service, concerned with improving the training of recruits, and so on. From such a cosmic view, professionalization would seem to be the "climax job pattern" of our occupational environment, just as beech trees are the climax forest of the Hudson Palisades. In many ways, the figure of speech seems to be apt, for though the processes of succession move slowly, without overt violence, these larger patterns are made up of innumerable smaller encroachments, attacks, retreats, and absorptions. Man at work has been praised as peaceful, and so have forests, but a detailed study of either will show that conflict can occur without being either swift or bloody.

No occupation, then, becomes a profession without a struggle, just as no specialty develops inside a profession without antagonism. The emotion-laden identification of men with their occupation, their dependence on it for much of the daily meaning of their lives, causes them to defend it vigorously and to advance its cause where possible. If a new occupation claims the right to solve a problem which formerly was solved by another, that claim is an accusation of incompetence, and the outraged counteraccusation is, of course, "encroachment."

For several years now, we sociologists have been increasingly drawn into one of these imbroglios, between antagonists of such magnitude, organized medicine and psychology, that our small voice is given little attention. Yet, if they need not take our political power seriously, we can nevertheless use our sociological tools—surely more appropriate for understanding professionalization than psychological or psychiatric techniques—to understand better their actions as well as our own.

THE PATTERN OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

Precise verbal definition of any popular term is difficult, and debate about the term "profession" persists. After all, many occupations have a vested interest in just where the line is to be drawn between professions and non-professions. The Bureau of the Census has employed varying definitions in its decennial enumerations. Over the past half-century, a

handful of definitions has been used in most serious discussions of the term, but these vary enough that one writer asserts that they have only one common characteristic, a eulogistic terminology.³

If one extracts from the most commonly cited definitions all the items which characterize a profession, however, a commendable unanimity is disclosed: there are no contradictions, and the only differences are those of omission.⁴ The list of traits which emerges suggests both the reason for the past disagreement about the definition, and a solution for it. We should think of occupations as falling somewhere along a continuum of professionalism, the continuum being made up of common traits in these definitions. We can then reduce the list by subtracting the derivative traits, such as high prestige, power, and income, from those which are sociologically causal. The two remaining core characteristics are a prolonged specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge, and a collectivity or service orientation. Occupations may rank high on one of these, but low on the other. Thus, nursing ranks high on the variable of service orientation, but has been unable to demonstrate that its training is more than a lower-level medical education. Correspondingly, various occupations have been steadily moving upward on both dimensions, for example, social work, public accountancy, and librarianship.

As an occupation becomes more professionalized, it acquires several features which may be viewed as sociologically derivative from the two just noted. These include the following traits:

³ Oliver Garceau, *The Political Life of the AMA*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941, p. 186.

⁴ These definitional items are tabulated in William J. Goode and Mary Jean Huntington, *Professions in American Society*, unpublished manuscript, Chapter 1. They may be found in A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, *The Professions*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933, pp. 284-318; Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" *School and Society*, 1 (1915), pp. 901-911; Roscoe Pound, *The Lawyer from Antiquity to Modern Times*, St. Paul: West, 1953, pp. 4-10; Louis D. Brandeis, *Business—A Profession?* Boston: Small, Maynard, 1914, p. 2; Robert D. Leigh, *The Public Library in the United States*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. 185-189; and Carl F. Taesch, *Professional and Business Ethics*, New York: Holt, 1926, pp. 13-27, 206-210. A good discussion of these characteristics in the context of professional associations may be found in Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society*, New York: Rinehart, pp. 476-483; especially useful is their emphasis on the inherent tensions between service orientation and professional aggrandizement.

- (1) The profession determines its own standards of education and training.
- (2) The student professional goes through a more far-reaching adult socialization experience than the learner in other occupations.
- (3) Professional practice is often legally recognized by some form of licensure.
- (4) Licensing and admission boards are manned by members of the profession.
- (5) Most legislation concerned with the profession is shaped by that profession.
- (6) The occupation gains in income, power, and prestige ranking, and can demand higher caliber students.
- (7) The practitioner is relatively free of lay evaluation and control.
- (8) The norms of practice enforced by the profession are more stringent than legal controls.
- (9) Members are more strongly identified and affiliated with the profession than are members of other occupations with theirs.
- (10) The profession is more likely to be a terminal occupation. Members do not care to leave it, and a higher proportion assert that if they had it to do over again, they would again choose that type of work.

These characteristics are closely interdependent. More important, they are all *social* relationships; they assert obligations and rights between client and professional, professional and colleague, or professional and some formal agency. Consequently, an important part of the process by which an occupation becomes a profession is the gradual institutionalization of various role relationships between itself and other parts of the society. These clients or agencies, or the society generally, will concede autonomy to the profession only if its members are able and willing to police themselves; will grant higher fees or prestige only when both its competence and its area of competence seem to merit them; or will grant an effective monopoly to the profession through licensure boards only when it has persuasively shown that it is the sole master of its special craft, and that its decisions are not to be reviewed by other professions.

A sociological guess is that the most severe skirmishes in the process of institutionalization would occur between the new profession and the occupations closest to it in substantive and clientele interest. The contract-builder was the most sceptical of the opponents of the rising architectural profession in the nineteenth century, and he is still. Moreover, practitioners

within a field are not likely to be united among themselves; they will include some of the bitterest opponents of professionalization. After all, any plan to raise standards defines some practitioners as incompetent. Any talk of the new "science" on which the profession rests its claims may be met with derision by the old-timers, who believe that at best they command an art, perhaps merely a skill to be acquired through apprenticeship.⁵ Thus, the development of certified public accountancy is punctuated with internal conflicts and the establishment of one organization after another, each with its own standards of admission.⁶ When the elite of the emerging profession make speeches or write articles outlining its achievements, they are at once appealing for support from the public and for guild support from their own colleagues.

Of course, the new profession must have some economic success to survive, but the market structure does not fit classical theory. The new profession claims to be offering a unique service, not available elsewhere. It does not rely upon the passive operation of market forces, but is likely to proclaim openly that its rivals are either charlatans, that is, not properly trained, or encroachers, that is, illegal competitors. Another difference is that economic success of the new profession is based on the *normative* acceptance it achieves—on how much *right* to a legally enforceable monopoly it can successfully claim. Finally, professional services usually can not be adequately evaluated by the layman (even though his *perception* of their utility is important), so that the market success of the new profession does not necessarily grow from "having built a better mousetrap." Professionals admit that they need their client's cooperation for a good performance; for survival, they also need their client's faith. Chiropractic, for example, successfully triumphed over its inability to demonstrate, by ordinary canons of science, its curative powers, and at present is licensed in 46 states.⁷ This is a hollow victory over the organized medical profession, to be sure, but both the victory and its emptiness illustrate my point, since the latter has succeeded in undermining public faith in chiropractic, whose clientele remains small and rather specialized.

⁵ See Edward Kremers and George Urdang, *History of Pharmacy*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1951, pp. 208, 281.

⁶ Nicholas A. H. Stacy, *English Accountancy, 1800-1954*, London: Gee, 1954, pp. 71-72.

⁷ Walter Gellhorn, "Occupational Licensing—Nationwide Dilemma," *Journal of Accountancy*, 101 (January, 1960), p. 41.

It seems fair to say that no profession was ever displaced by another by virtue of having its claims to technical effectiveness refuted by empirical test.

This last generalization rests not only upon the faith of clients in a profession, but also upon two related facts: First, rival professions are not willing to put their claims to the test, partly because to do so suggests that there is a still higher authority than they. Second, the need for testing arises most critically in new and obscure areas of human knowledge, where proof is most difficult. Art is not testable. We illustrate these points below.

It is a common sociological observation that when rival claims issue in conflict, each side is likely to develop stereotypes and misconceptions about the other, especially in formal contexts, while by contrast some individual members from each side may develop congenial, respectful working relationships, across the lines.

SOCIOLOGY AND PROBLEMS OF ENCROACHMENT

Sociologists as a group have not been sensitive to encroachment. Indeed, rather they have been flattered to see other fields take over sociological ideas and techniques, and have felt comfortable about borrowing, too. Nor have they taken seriously the problem of charlatanism, in part, I believe, because as individuals they are prone to feel most uneasy about their own credentials and to doubt the achievements of their own science. Consequently, they have been slow to recognize that they were involved in a problem of encroachment. The first psychology certification law to take away some of their employment privileges was passed in Connecticut in 1945, but the national society did not begin to give serious formal attention to the problem until 1955-1956.⁸ Many sociologists have not recognized that as recently as the fall of 1959, when after difficult negotiations extending over many months a superficially reasonable agreement with the American Psychological Association was reached, we accepted the burden of guildhood for the first time. For that agreement focused on the question of which sociologists have a right to jobs as social psychologists, and on the definition of adequate training for paid work in this sub-field we share with psychology.⁹

⁸ See "Report of Committee on Implications of Legislation that Licenses or Certifies Psychologists," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (December, 1956), pp. 773-776.

⁹ See "Report of Committee on Implications of Legislation that Certifies Psychologists," *American*

That agreement stated, in essence, that we would begin to apply more rigorous standards in accepting sociologists as social psychologists (thus conceding the APA claim that many such sociologists were not adequately trained); and that the APA on its side would not oppose amendments or exemption clauses in legislation on psychology. Whether amendments will be made to the *existing* legislation in some 17 states remains to be seen [as of April, 1960]. My own experience in exploring this possibility in New York State makes me rather dubious, since once a certification board has been set up, it is likely to insist that related fields submit to similar examinations, rather than to permit exemption.

Most of these certification laws prohibit the use of the title "psychologist" unless the person meets certain educational requirements, usually a Ph.D. or its equivalent in psychology, and passes certain examinations. Thus, a sociologically trained social psychologist may not accept consulting fees under that title without violating the law. In carrying out this legislative program, the state and national psychological associations paid little heed to our legitimate claims in the field of social psychology until our protests were organized sufficiently well to defeat legislation here and there.¹⁰ The implications of such legislation are clear, and were outlined in our Society's original committee report.¹¹

1. Employment opportunities for sociologically trained social psychologists may be restricted, since many persons, agencies, and businesses may come to accept the definitions set by psychology. Indeed, at the present time, the APA is attempting to remove such sociologists from the Civil Service series for psychology.¹²
2. If we accept the training criteria set by psychology, we submit to their definition

Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 880-882.

¹⁰ It is frequently noted that the first two textbooks in the field, both entitled *Social Psychology* and both published in 1908, were written by the psychologist, William McDougall, and the sociologist, E. A. Ross. About one-half of the courses in social psychology are taught by sociologists (see W. B. Cameron, P. Lasley, and R. Dewey, "Who Teaches Social Psychology?" *American Sociological Review*, 15 (August, 1950), p. 554. One-fourth of the A.S.A. members claim this speciality.

¹¹ See footnotes 8 and 9, above.

¹² Letter from John A. Clausen to C. Mansel Keene, Chief, Standards Division, United States Civil Service Commission, objecting to such a proposed removal.

of the field and concede that our own training is inadequate in some respects.

3. Recruitment to our field may be hampered when students with social psychological interests foresee restrictions on their eventual careers. And, of course, the exemption of persons working for organizations such as universities or corporations suggests that either the poorly trained cannot be harmful in such places, which is not true, or that their potential opposition to such bills must be appeased.

4. An equally deplorable implication is that our organization is thereby forced to act as a guild rather than a scientific society: We begin to define who may practice, to seek a monopoly, to use our organization to protect our members from laymen and other professions, and try to protect laymen from our own members.

Some sociologists may respond to these arguments by claiming that eventually similar legislation must be sought in all states, and that our own standards must be established for the title "sociologist." Thus, when the ASA committee agreed that we should begin to police our own social psychologists, it was taking an inevitable step toward guildhood. To oppose such higher standards is to deny our professional responsibility for adequate training. Aren't all professions licensed?

This argument illustrates an earlier point, that a professionalizing group may be internally divided in its evaluation of professionalization. It also contains two implicit errors, one of which brings out an important feature of professionalization in our generation.

The first error has to do with the distribution of licensure and certification, which do in fact control some 200 occupations under various jurisdictions. Numerous occupations seek such recognition each year, ranging from dancing master to beer coil cleaner. Even naturopaths are licensed in nine states. Almost all occupations can present a chamber of horrors to show the evils that result from the lack of legal control. And almost all such controls are created by the occupations themselves, rather than being the reflection of public demand to control occupational malpractice. Moreover, later amendments seek always to add controls, to raise the standards of training sometimes to the point of absurdity.¹³ Finally, no occupation that I know of has sought de-licensing.

¹³ Gellhorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-44. Licensure legally gives a monopoly of practice to those who hold a license. Certification permits those to call themselves by a given title who have a certain training.

It would seem, then, that for sociology to follow the lead of psychology would be to accept the natural line of development. We have moved from the cloister to the market, and can no longer claim the privileges of the gown. This conclusion is premature. For licensure or certification is not at all a natural development for sociology. Economics has made no such move, nor has political science or history. Moreover, biology, chemistry, and physics have not grown in this way, and all of these entered the market place long ago. Finally, the profession of engineering, founded on the more highly developed sciences, has never been able to achieve a unitary guild, and is continually splitting into new specialties not covered by licensing laws, while many of its most distinguished practitioners are not licensed at all.

So wide a spectrum of negative cases suggests a reformulation of the process of professionalization. The major professions which have arisen over the past century—architecture, engineering, certified public accountancy, and perhaps social work—were formed by an integration of rule-of-thumb experience with a new or recently developed body of codified knowledge. Doubtless, other professions may emerge on such a basis, for example, librarianship.

However, the more usual professional development today, and one which encompasses a large proportion of all professional work, stresses the marketing of special scientific skills, without the strong growth of guild concerns. Such professional fields emerge from a parent body of knowledge, usually in an academic context, and their model remains the academic man. Their professional associations are not guilds, imposing rigid controls over members in their client-professional relations, or protecting the guild member against lay evaluations. Rather, these associations are learned societies. The allegiance of the members is primarily to the substantive field, not the guild. Their professional behavior is guided far more by the ethic of science than by an ethic of the client-professional relationship. Their academic counterpart is the professor who does consulting work.

Their work takes place in a bureaucratic context, but that fact alone does not explain this new pattern of professionalism. Throughout Western history, most professionals have been bureaucrats: the military officer, the clergyman, the university professor, most engineers and architects, and, much earlier, both the lawyer

but grants no monopoly. The practical difference between them is less than legal analysts seem to suppose.

and the physician.¹⁴ However, the character of modern bureaucracy differs in that the sheer mass of work and the extensive division of labor now permit the employment of the scientist essentially for his skill in science. The science, not the bureaucracy, defines employment standards, and because the work is largely science, not art, it can be evaluated with some precision. Competence can be tested, and thus there is less need for either certification or licensure, or guild protection.

Professional monopoly of a *scientific* field seems impossible or absurd; for example, a wide range of professional men are working in chemistry, whatever their job titles. Correlatively, in this newer type of profession, there is no precise social definition of the juncture at which the client may properly call on professional help, or even of the problems served by the profession. Rather, there is a definition of skills and knowledge, that is, of the field. The sociologist-professional can not identify his *problem* as the physician who says, "I heal the sick," but must identify his skill: "I solve sociological problems." The traditional guild professions by contrast, whether bureaucratic or not, have individual clients whose problems they offer to solve. Role obligations in the client-professional relationship are more sharply defined. The guild protects its members, demands greater loyalty from them, and controls them far more than the law prescribes. This distinction is not a dichotomy, of course; the engineering associations are very close to non-guild patterns.

These traits of the non-guild professions point to the second implicit error in the suggestion that sociology should follow the lead of psychology in requiring a fully developed code of ethics, certification and licensure, and a guild concern with the formal definition of a "professional." For it is not the *field* of psychology as a whole which has engineered these moves, but a special group within *organized* psychology, that is, clinical psychology with the aid of related groups engaged in various types of counseling.¹⁵ In fact, the APA is almost unique

¹⁴ After the founding of the universities during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Church dominated both universities and medical practice. The university was the door to the professions, but these were inside the Church. Students were clerks, that is, clergymen technically if not spiritually. Even in the first decades after the founding of the Royal College of Physicians, whose powers were confirmed in 1522, most of its leading members were in religious orders. Law was almost entirely in the hands of clerics, who were not fully banished from the common bar until the thirteenth century. See Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70.

¹⁵ This group is not small, else it could not have

among scientific associations in moving far toward guildhood, in transforming itself into a professional association.¹⁶ Certainly no other major scientific society has done so. Its guild activities include such diverse moves as attempts to persuade health insurance organizations to pay clinical psychologists for psychotherapy, as psychiatrists are paid, on the one hand, and, on the other, to offer aid to psychologists who may be faced with prosecution under medical practice acts.¹⁷ Many psychologists have viewed these developments with alarm, their reactions ranging from the arguments presented in the *American Psychologist* to the organization of the new Psychonomic Society solely concerned with scientific psychology.¹⁸

As in sociology, however, the position of the opponents of guildhood can be misinterpreted as being opposed to higher standards of

succeeded in imposing such a guild pattern on the APA. One estimate holds that "over half of the membership of the APA is in clinical or closely related areas." George W. Albee and Marguerite Dickey, "Manpower Trends in Three Mental Health Professions," *American Psychologist*, 12 (February, 1957), p. 65. There were just under 2,400 members of the Division of Clinical Psychology in 1960, of a total A.P.A. membership of 18,000.

¹⁶The only close approximation, noted below, is a complex one, the small association of microbiologists.

¹⁷The *guild* activities of the APA and its subsidiaries are many, but a few should be noted: (1) a fund of 20,000 dollars was raised in California to obtain passage of their certification bill (*American Psychologist*, 12 [October, 1957], p. 660); (2) the New York State Psychological Association allocated a sum to subscribe to ten or more mass media magazines so that they could be monitored with respect to their treatment of psychology and psychologists (*ibid.*, 13 [April, 1958], p. 186); (3) the APA has worked out procedures for making grants and loans to state associations who need help in legislative and legal activities (*ibid.*, 14 [December, 1959], p. 755); (4) the APA subscribed to the Legislative Reference Service so as to obtain reports of all legislation pertaining to the practice of psychology, medical practice acts, and so on (*ibid.*, 12 [November, 1957], p. 762); (5) the APA has created a list of universities with "approved" programs in clinical psychology (*ibid.*, [December, 1959], p. 752); (6) the APA has helped to make malpractice insurance available to its members (Theodore H. Blau, *Private Practice in Clinical Psychology*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959, p. 106)—issues of the *American Psychologist* during the last ten years are studded with debated about this development.

¹⁸Its first meetings were scheduled to be held at the University of Chicago, September, 1960. As of the spring of 1960, its founders did not intend to secede from the APA.

training, or against the protection of the public. But the clinical psychologist has individual clients and is directly concerned with the diagnosis and therapy of psychological ills. Especially in private practice, moreover, he faces all the problems of the medical man, so that a guild pattern is sociologically predictable, as well as necessary for ethical controls. Organized medicine, however, has prevented the simple evolution of a separate, legally protected profession of clinical psychology, so that the latter has had to use the APA as its shield. Further, medical opposition has prevented a rewriting of existing medical practice acts which would permit clinical psychology to engage in psychotherapy without hindrance. Consequently, the laws which recognize psychology do not define its *practice* (except in two states, California and Arkansas, which define only *clinical psychological practice*). A definition of all psychology as practice would, of course, encroach on several fields, since psychological interests extend from physiology to sociology. The laws, then, define only who may call himself a psychologist, not what one would do if one were a psychologist.

Thus, psychology has encroached on sociologists who are social psychologists because one group within it has been emerging as a profession of the older type. Organized medicine has attacked this group during the past half-century for being unqualified, that is, for its charlatanism. This conflict illuminates some of the generalizations made above about the emergence of a profession, and suggests additional ones.¹⁹

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY AS AN EMERGING FIELD

The term "clinical psychology" is generally credited to Lightner Witmer, who founded the first psychological clinic at the University of Pennsylvania in March, 1896.²⁰ By the outbreak of World War I there were about 20 clinics in the United States, and in 1916 the New York Psychiatric Society inquired into the activities of clinical psychologists.²¹ The Society's resolutions expressed the view of organized medicine that generally has been held since then—essentially that the medical man

¹⁹For some of the legal ramifications of this conflict, see Anonymous, "Regulation of Psychological Counseling and Psychotherapy," *Columbia Law Review*, 51 (April, 1951), pp. 474-495.

²⁰Albert Ellis, "The Roots of Psychology and Psychiatry," in M. H. Krout, editor, *Psychology, Psychiatry, and the Public Interest*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956, p. 12.

²¹Iago Galdston, "The Medical View," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 4 (July, 1950), p. 422.

is the only legitimate psychotherapist. Reviewing the history of this conflict, one psychiatrist recently concluded that, "The lay psychotherapist is . . . a quack."²² To which the clinical psychologist has responded with the current jibe, "The psychiatrist is a person who practices psychotherapy without even a Ph.D."

A detailed history of the relations between psychology and psychiatry can not be presented here, but the major issues may be outlined. Neither side has held a monopoly of misrepresentation, misperception, or specious argument.

Perhaps some of their mutual recriminations can be better understood by noting that *both* these groups are emerging professions and *both* their parent fields have viewed them with scepticism and disfavor. Modern psychiatry was developed largely by physicians who, like Freud, had abandoned traditional medicine, or by non-physicians, and most physicians still concede only lowly prestige to psychiatry among the medical specialties.²³ The experimental psychologist, on the other hand, is likely to view clinical psychology as the "art of applying a science which does not as yet exist,"²⁴ far removed

from his own rigorous research designs. Clinical psychologists as early as the 1920s sought certification by the APA, but failed.²⁵ One psychologist asserts that, a "fairly large group of intelligent and capable psychologists . . . insist that only charlatans, money-grabbers, and unethical psychologists would consider operating in private practice."²⁶

With little support from their own colleagues, both groups have felt that they stood alone against a large, hostile, professional organization: the clinical psychologists against 200,000 organized medical men; the psychiatrists against the APA, which has increased three-fold over the past decade, and now numbers about 18,000.²⁷

Clinical psychologists are newcomers, and have not been in a position to attack the psychiatrists officially, but the latter (with the support, and sometimes under the pressure, of the AMA) as the entrenched group have tried in various ways to prevent any infiltration by the former. The medical men may chalk up the following "accomplishments": (1) Their opposition persuaded Governor Dewey to veto the 1951 psychology certification law.²⁸ (2) Their opposition in California and Arkansas forced the psychologists in the first case to rewrite their bill, in the second to draft one to protect themselves.²⁹ (3) In many mental institutions they have been successful in excluding postdoctoral clinical psychologists from the practicum and from supervised therapeutic practice,³⁰ or have excluded them from hospital staff or staff conferences.³¹ (4) When, in 1950,

²² *Ibid.*, p. 424.

²³ Robert M. Lindner in "Who Shall Practice Psychotherapy," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 4 (July, 1950), p. 433, asserts that medical men regarded it with contempt and that the bulk of physicians still deny the name "medicine" to anything but the organic tradition. See also F. Lemere and A. B. Kraabel, "The General Practitioner and the Psychiatrist," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 116 (December, 1959), pp. 518-521. Hedda Bolgar comments in "Psychology and Psychiatry: A Problem in Identity," in Krout, editor, *op. cit.*, p. 16, that the "psychiatrist belongs to a . . . certainly not highly respected minority within the medical group." Francis J. Gerty in "The Physician and Psychotherapy," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 116 (July, 1959), p. 5, comments that the favorite complaint of many psychiatrists is that there is resistance to the teaching of psychiatry. For analyses of the interaction between physician and psychiatrist, see Harvey L. Smith, "Psychiatry in Medicine: Intra- or Inter-professional Relationships?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (November, 1957), pp. 285-289; and "Professional Strains and the Hospital Context," in Milton Greenblatt *et al.*, editors, *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 9-13.

²⁴ The phrase, but not the sentence, is from Paul E. Meehl, "The Cognitive Activity of the Clinician," *American Psychologist*, 15 (January, 1960), p. 19. See also Starke R. Hathaway, "A Study of Human Behavior: The Clinical Psychologist," *American Psychologist*, 13 (May, 1958), pp. 257 ff. Bolgar, *op. cit.*, p. 16, notes that "both psychiatrist and practicing psychologist have abandoned the ideologies and methods of their original groups to dabble in psychotherapy"

²⁵ William A. Hunt, *The Clinical Psychologist*, Springfield, Ill.: Thomas, 1956, p. 80. A Board of Examiners was not established until 1947.

²⁶ Blau, *op. cit.*, p. vi. Also: "This attitude has even had some official and somewhat aggressive recognition . . .," by which he refers to Fillmore Sanford, "Annual Report of the Executive Secretary, APA," *American Psychologist*, 6 (November, 1951), p. 667.

²⁷ Personal communication from APA Executive Office, March 29, 1960.

²⁸ The veto message of Governor Dewey, April 10, 1951, mentions the opposition of both the AMA and the American Psychiatric Association.

²⁹ For California, see *American Psychologist*, 12 (October, 1957), pp. 660-661; for Arkansas, *ibid.*, 14 (February, 1959), pp. 95-98.

³⁰ See letter from R. H. Schonbar and E. J. Shoben, *American Psychologist*, 12 (May, 1957), p. 280.

³¹ Harold Geist, "Psychologist and Psychiatrist," *American Psychologist*, 12 (March, 1957), p. 161. Geist also reports having been removed from the testing activity in the neuropsychiatric section when he announced that he was beginning private practice. See also the action of the American Psycho-

committees from psychology and psychiatry were able to work out an agreement on the proper relations between the two, strong objections from the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry prevented it from reaching the Council of the American Psychiatric Association.³² (5) From 1953 to 1956, committees from psychology and psychiatry held a series of meetings "characterized by a growing feeling of mutual respect" and agreed to mandatory certification as well as a moratorium on legislation not acceptable to both associations, but the AMA did not accept this agreement.³³ (6) As recently as 1957, the APA Central Office received an AMA report which, after noting that psychologists were continuing to obtain the passage of licensure or certification laws in spite of state medical association opposition, cites the AMA Board recommendation opposing licensure. Upon being queried by the APA, the AMA responded that this recommendation does not imply approval of even certification.³⁴ (7) In 1957, the AMA Council reaffirmed its earlier position that the application of psychological methods to the treatment of illness is a medical function, although psychologists and others may properly be used by medical men in contributory roles when supervised by a physician.³⁵

While clinical psychologists feel that they are being kept from their rightful domain by an intransigent foe, medical men see themselves inundated and infiltrated. The Veterans Administration, the U. S. Public Health Agency, and the Surgeon-General's Office have supported the training of clinical psychologists. About 50 universities and colleges offer the doctorate in this specialty.³⁶ In medical schools, clinical psychologists teach psychiatry students. Although psychologists have not been able to amend the restrictive medical licensure acts in their favor, they have increasingly gained legal recognition

analytic Association, in David Shakow, "Psychology and Psychiatry: A Dialogue: II," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 19 (April, 1949), p. 393.

³² Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-172.

³³ "The Background of Legislative Proposals for the Certification of Psychologists," Committee on Legislation Report, January, 1959 (APA Executive Office).

³⁴ *American Psychologist*, 12 (September, 1957), p. 589.

³⁵ *American Psychological Association Newsletter*, quoted in *American Psychologist*, 13 (February, 1958), p. 87. Committees from the two groups met again in February and March, 1960, to work out their problems.

³⁶ Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 4; George F. Harding and Richard B. Cravens, "Military Clinical Psychology," *American Psychologist*, 12 (February, 1957), pp. 89-91.

in the last decade. All states now employ clinical psychologists.³⁷ In contrast, psychiatrists are increasing in number by only about 450 each year.³⁸ Finally, psychiatrists have learned that the public makes little distinction between themselves and the psychologist.³⁹

As sociologists, we can understand these status threats on both sides, but the question remains: What are the real issues in the conflict? And as laymen, we often ask: Who is doing the better job as therapist?

Several of the current arguments can be quickly disposed of by reference to the facts. Psychiatrists are properly concerned about untrained people doing psychotherapy, but so are psychologists, and the proportion of charlatans is decreasing as the public comes to know more about psychotherapy.⁴⁰ Even the trained lay analyst is disappearing. Contrary to some physicians' opinions, there is a code of ethics in psychology, and violators have been expelled from the APA.⁴¹ Although the matter of *economic* competition is of importance, the demand for psychotherapy is so great that both groups have more patients than they can handle. Clinical psychologists do not outnumber the psychiatrists: the American Psychiatric Association has 10,500 members, the Division of Clinical Psychology, about 2,400 (though of course many more are engaged in some kind of counseling). Only about five percent of psychologists are engaged in private psychotherapy, and clinical psychologists devote most of their time to psychodiagnostics and testing.⁴²

³⁷ Frank Hardesty and Jacob Silverberg, "Classifications and Salaries of Psychologists in State Mental Hospitals," *American Psychologist*, 13 (August, 1958), pp. 471-476.

³⁸ Albee and Dickey, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³⁹ Using the Osgood Semantic Differential Meaning instrument, Jum Nummally and John M. Kittross found somewhat more favorable attitudes toward physical medicine, but no differences among any profession with "psych" in it. "Public Attitudes toward Mental Health Professions," *American Psychologist*, 13 (October, 1958), pp. 589-594.

⁴⁰ Lindner comments (*op. cit.*, p. 440) that the problem of quackery is of minimal importance. Henry P. David and Franklyn B. Springfield, "Phones, Phonies and Psychologists: II. Four Years Later," *American Psychologist*, 13 (January, 1958), pp. 51-54, show the diminishing proportion of non-APA members in the classified sections of the telephone books of 20 major cities. The Diplomate in Clinical Psychology must pass rigorous standards (Blau, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9).

⁴¹ *Ethical Standards of Psychologists*, Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association, 1953.

⁴² "Joint Report on Relations between Psychology and Psychiatry," report approved by the Board of

Nevertheless, the psychiatrists are quite right in believing that increasingly clinical psychologists engage in private therapy.⁴³ Psychiatrists are properly concerned that clinical psychologists may not detect organic factors in mental or emotional illness because they have not been medically trained, but actually both groups as a standard practice require complete physical examination of clients by a physician before undergoing therapy.⁴⁴

The clinical psychologist is forbidden by law to use any of the drugs which have become so important in mental health, but this would only require collaboration between psychiatrist and psychologist. More fundamentally, these drugs do not cure emotional or mental illness; at best, they merely alleviate symptoms, or permit psychotherapy in cases which otherwise would be difficult or impossible. The physician claims all illness as his domain. But of course mental and emotional illness differs from organic illness, the body of knowledge about it is on a different theoretical level, and modes of treatment are fundamentally different.⁴⁵

This last point, however, raises the fundamental question, both socially and sociologically: Who has the right to responsibility? Along the continuum of psychodynamic ailments, from deep mental disturbances to simple behavioral problems, the former are more likely to be assigned to the psychiatrist, and the latter to the clinical psychologist, but in both types the *core* of treatment is psychotherapeutic, based on essentially the same body of theory which was first extensively developed by Freud.⁴⁶ With the increased application of

Professional Affairs and the Board of Directors of the APA, and by the Executive Committee of the Council of the American Psychiatric Association. It is scheduled to appear in an early issue of the *American Journal of Psychiatry*.

⁴³ See Albert Ellis, "Evolving Standards for Practicing Psychologists," in Krout, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

⁴⁴ Blau, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-86, 101-102. In every joint agreement between physicians and psychologists, the latter have agreed to this point. Of course, the psychiatrist does not himself carry out the physical examination.

⁴⁵ See both Lindner, "Who Shall Practice Psychology?" *op. cit.*, pp. 155-158; and Rollo May, "The Work and Training of the Psychological Therapist," pp. 171 ff., in Krout, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ This is not to say that psychotherapists are all Freudian, or even psychoanalytic, or that psychologists have not contributed to the developments beyond Freud. The work of Carl R. Rogers has been a distinct contribution. In 1959, for the third successive year, the Hofheimer Award of the American Psychiatric Association was given by an

specialized scientific fields to practical problems, this type of situation may occur often, in which two professions claim the same core body of knowledge, but I have been able to find only one apparently similar case.⁴⁷ Lawyers and accountants, by contrast, conflict with one another only at certain peripheral points.⁴⁸ For one profession to accept fully the right of another to handle its own clients is to deny its own charter, yet neither psychiatry nor clinical psychology has succeeded in distinguishing its respective forms of psychotherapy from one another.⁴⁹

Notwithstanding this conflict between medi-

all-psychiatric jury to a psychologist (Gerty, *op. cit.*, p. 8).

⁴⁷ This is the relationship among the clinical pathologists, clinical chemists, and clinical microbiologists, a complex tangle of moves and counter-moves extending back to the 1920s. See Harry P. Smith, "Clinical Pathology: Its Creators and Its Practitioners," *American Journal of Clinical Pathology*, 31 (April, 1959), pp. 283-292. This paper was Smith's address as President of the American Society of Clinical Pathologists. See also "Preliminary Report of the Committee on Professional Qualifications for the Practice of Laboratory Medicine," Harry P. Smith, Chairman, to the College of American Pathologists, August, 1959. This report contains a useful bibliography on the problem.

⁴⁸ See Elliott P. Cheatham, *Cases and Materials on the Legal Profession*, Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1955, Chapter 14, esp. pp. 481-485. Note that when another profession is charged with encroachment on the legal profession, the case is adjudicated by a lawyer on the bench. A new profession can rarely enter the core of an older profession successfully. See also Erwin N. Griswold, "A Further Look: Lawyers and Accountants," *American Bar Association Journal*, 41 (December, 1955), pp. 1179-1180. Osteopathy has had an apparent success, but only by changing its curriculum to approximate that of medicine; see Peter Kongming New, "The Osteopathic Students: A Study in Dilemma," in E. Gartly Jaco, editor, *Patients, Physicians and Illness*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958, pp. 413-421. Although chiropractic is licensed in 46 states, it has steadily lost ground as a medical occupation: its main clients are the uneducated, and those who suffer from minor backaches.

⁴⁹ " . . . if psychotherapy is to be included in the province of the psychologist . . . there will be a common area of practice with physicians." Also, ". . . the committee decided, as others have decided many times before, that psychotherapy could not be defined satisfactorily, at least for legal purposes. . ." Francis J. Gerty, J. W. Holloway, and R. P. Mackay, "Licensure or Certification of Clinical Psychologists," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 148 (January 26, 1952), p. 272.

cine and clinical psychology, psychiatrists and clinical psychologists, in the first place, are working together harmoniously in numerous settings. Although formally the psychiatrist is in charge, the more important fact is that in mental hospitals, Veterans Administration hospitals, military organizations, and in most clinical settings the psychologist-therapist is not usually under real medical supervision. Once a genuine team relationship is established, he works independently. Even when he is under supervision he may nevertheless be engaging in psychotherapy without medical disapproval. The medical objection is to the psychologist's private, that is, *independent*, practice. But his aid is especially sought in psychodiagnostic tests, for this is an adjunctive help, like that of a laboratory technician. After all, any profession is glad to give up the drudge work so as to keep the supervisory role.⁵⁰

Second, the supervision demanded by the AMA does not always specify that the physician is to be a psychiatrist, although in such a supervisory position the general practitioner would be the layman and the clinical psychologist would be the professional.⁵¹

Third, some unknown but considerable number of general practitioners carry out some psychotherapy in their private practice. In such

⁵⁰ Here is part of a resolution approved by the Board of Trustees of the AMA, the Council of the American Psychiatric Association, and the Executive Council of the American Psychoanalytic Association: The medical profession endorses the appropriate use of psychologists and other professions in "contributing roles in settings directly supervised by physicians . . . when they contribute to diagnosis and treatment of illness, their professional contribution must be coordinated under medical responsibility." *American Psychiatric Association Newsletter*, December 15, 1957. Also, the statement by M. Brody, "Unsupervised Lay Psychotherapy," *Bulletin of the Medical Society of County Kings*, 34 (November, 1954), p. 178—it is ". . . to be hoped that the number and calibre of clinical psychologists will continue to advance, just like the rapid advances of technicians whose aid to physicians cannot be overestimated."

⁵¹ This point was made by Francis J. Gerty in his Presidential Address before the American Psychiatric Association, "The Physician and Psychotherapy," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 116 (July, 1959), p. 9. Although not entirely consistent, the 1952 report by Gerty *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273, does not emphasize the psychiatrist. Note that this report was made by a committee of the Section of Nervous and Mental Diseases. See also *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 149 (June 28, 1952), p. 865, the 1916 statement cited by Galdston, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-424, and the 1954 resolution, reaffirmed in the *American Psychiatric Association Newsletter*, (December 15, 1957).

cases, the medical guild does not impose the controls which it demands over clinical psychologists.⁵² Such physicians may even become Associate Members of the American Psychiatric Association without psychiatric training.⁵³ These facts make it clear, then, that the central issue is not the *service* offered by the clinical psychologist. The question is rather whether or not one profession shall have the right of veto over another's professional decisions, that is, the *right of responsibility* in a given case.⁵⁴

⁵² See Gerty, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 272—" . . . physicians . . . who, under license to practice medicine, have long made use of psychotherapy." The general practitioner may move toward a specialty by beginning to devote part or even all of his practice to it. In such cases, the only controls are his own evaluation of his growing skills, the informal comments of fellow physicians, and—for example, in surgery—varying staff rules of specific hospitals as to what types of cases he may attempt. In a questionnaire study among the members of the Washington State Academy of General Practice, Lemere and Kraabel, *op. cit.*, p. 518, found that, on the average, they felt they could take care of 78 per cent of their psychiatric patients, although 69 per cent of them would like to refer more of the patients to psychiatrists, since they take more of the physician's time, and pay less, than other patients. Rollo May, *op. cit.*, p. 176, cites Freud's comment: ". . . I make bold to assert that doctors furnish the largest contingent of quacks in analysis—and not only in European countries. They very often use analytical treatment, without having learned it and without understanding it."

⁵³ Article III, Nos. 4, 5, and 6 of the Association's Constitution, states the requirements for Associate Member, Member, and Fellow. Associate Members ". . . shall be physicians who have had at least one year's practice in a mental hospital or its equivalent," but no specific training is required. (Personal communication from the central office of the American Psychiatric Association).

⁵⁴ The point is especially bolstered by the fact that psychiatric social workers also claim psychotherapy as their province: He "carries responsibility in relation to both the patient and his family through all phases of diagnosis and care, treatment, and rehabilitation." He "obtains and assesses psychosocial data . . . and . . . interprets these for use of the therapeutic team in the formulation of diagnosis and treatment." Daniel E. O'Keefe, "Psychiatric Social Work," in Russell H. Kurtz, editor, *Social Work Year Book*, 1960, New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1960, p. 454. Some commentators have asserted that psychiatric social workers do more psychotherapy than clinical psychologists and psychiatrists combined. Ira Iscoe in "Relationship between Psychology and Psychiatry," *American Psychologist*, 12 (May, 1957), p. 279, and J. Andriola in "Social Workers and Psychotherapy," *ibid.*, (January, 1957), p. 42, assert this to be so for the usual

Without taking sides on this issue, we can see where the battle line is drawn. If, further, we ask the layman's question—why don't the two groups claiming the right to practice psychotherapy submit to a test of their relative competence?—our earlier generalization emerges again: a professional community⁵⁵ would be denying its own unity, and questioning its charter and its self-image, if it accepted any higher authority, to which it would submit proofs of its own competence. In licensure and certification, of course, it is the *individual* who submits his credentials to the professional community, which dominates such boards.⁵⁶ Such a test of the community itself would be comparable to a nation permitting a world court to adjudicate its right to existence.

With respect to competence, the few assessments of either the diagnostic or the therapeutic techniques of psychiatrists and clinical psychologists have yielded gloomy results. After an extensive and sophisticated analysis of certain psychodiagnostic instruments used by clinical psychologists, a recent report suggest that both medical and non-medical psychotherapists do not believe that therapy is speeded when such instruments are used, and it obtains rather disappointing results from validity tests of these major psychodiagnostic tools.⁵⁷ The author concludes "that psychodiagnosticians will have to maintain their professional security over the next few years by not reading the research literature, a maneuver which has apparently proved quite successful already for some clinicians," and admits, "... I do not know of any evidence that we are better psychotherapists than our psychiatric colleagues."⁵⁸

mental hygiene clinic. Note that the psychiatrist and the social worker have not had to make truces and moratoria, and the suggestion has been made that this harmony is due to the social worker's acceptance of the psychiatrist's hegemony. Sex roles may play a part, for only one-fourth of psychiatric social workers are male.

⁵⁵ William J. Goode, "Community within a Community: The Professions," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 194-200.

⁵⁶ Walter Gellhorn, *Individual Freedom and Governmental Restraint*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956, p. 140, notes that 75 per cent of occupational licensing boards are exclusively made up of licensed practitioners of the trade.

⁵⁷ Paul E. Meehl, "The Cognitive Activity of the Clinician," *American Psychologist*, 15 (January, 1950), pp. 19 ff.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26. It should be kept in mind, however, with reference to this and succeeding points, that these are reports to *fellow professionals*, and are therefore harsh. Low correlations may nevertheless be more useful than total ignorance. Moreover, the problem of adequate research designs in psy-

Assessments of psychiatric diagnostic validity leads to a similar evaluation of its success.⁵⁹ One such review reports a test of validity by randomly assigning patients to three wards, and comparing their diagnoses by different psychiatrists; patients classified as schizophrenics were two-thirds in one ward, but only one-fifth in another.⁶⁰

As to therapy itself, the most striking facts are not that few evaluations of its success have been made, that these do not meet minimum canons of research design,⁶¹ and that only a low degree of success is demonstrated.⁶² Rather, this pattern might be cited as the hallmark of the emerging profession, which typically survives by faith, not by proof of works. The medical practice of blood-letting long survived

therapeutic research is extremely complex. See Eli A. Rubinstein and Morris B. Parloff, editors, *Research in Psychotherapy*, Washington, D. C.: American Psychological Association, 1959, esp. pp. 10-61.

⁵⁹ For example: "In the only study in which it was suggested that satisfactory inter-rater reliability was demonstrated for some of the diagnoses, . . . only 80% of the very gross classifications of a patient as organic, psychotic, or characterological" by one psychiatrist was confirmed by another—and when specific sub-types were compared, even in this study, there was agreement in only one-half the cases. Benjamin Pasamanick, Simon Dinitz, and Mark Lefton, "Psychiatric Orientation and its Relation to Diagnosis and Treatment in a Mental Hospital," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 116 (August, 1959), p. 127. The study they mention is H. O. Schmidt and C. P. Fonda, "The Reliability of Psychiatric Diagnosis: A New Look," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 52 (March, 1956), pp. 262-267.

⁶⁰ Pasamanick, Dinitz, and Lefton, *op. cit.*, p. 128. One ward reported 56 per cent of the cases as characterological, as against 47 per cent in another, and 15 per cent in still another.

⁶¹ See Ian Stevenson, "The Challenge of Results in Psychotherapy," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 116 (August, 1959), pp. 120-123, who comments on how few articles in either psychiatry or psychology attempt such evaluations. Many of these merely deplore the lack of evaluational studies. Few present a series of patients, and almost none gives follow-up studies.

⁶² H. J. Eysenck in "The Effects of Psychotherapy: An Evaluation," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 16 (October, 1952), p. 319, says that the psychoneurotic has a slightly better chance of recovery if he is *not* treated. D. W. Hastings in "Follow-up Results in Psychiatric Illness," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 114 (June, 1958), p. 1057, asserts that large numbers of mental patients recover with little or no treatment in one to three years, and perhaps 40-70 per cent of psychoneurotics do so. Of course, organic diseases are also self-limiting to some degree.

by faith,⁶³ as it died out for lack of faith, and today there is faith that psychotherapy will ultimately be vindicated. The imposing fact instead is the failure of clinical psychologists, trained in experimental research, to investigate empirically the precise nature of the process of psychotherapy, the conditions for its success, or the personality structures and dynamics that are most amenable to different psychotherapeutic procedures.⁶⁴ It is unfortunate that most research has merely elaborated psycho-diagnostic instruments.

This evaluation, disappointing to the layman, supports the sociological notion expressed above, that guild unity, the intensity of conflicts about encroachment, and the pressures toward licensure are greatest when the occupation deals with an individual client, and can not easily demonstrate its competence. The newer type of profession now emerging, the application of a scientific specialty to practical problems, remains closer to the academic traditions of proof. It gives less protection to the individual member. It concerns itself less with official certificates of competence. The older guild patterns are most likely to develop, as in the case of clinical psychology, where prediction, diagnosis, and control over the individual's problem are least precise.

CONCLUSION

I have viewed the relations among sociology, psychology, and medicine as an illustration of the process by which an occupation moves toward professionalization. In defining the professions, I have suggested that we should ask where a given occupation falls along a continuum of professionalism. The process of professionalization brings with it many characteristic changes, such as alterations in power, income, or prestige, but these are derivative from two primary factors: the knowledge base of the occupation, and its service or collectivity orientation.

Sociologists are being pressed today in the direction of one type of professionalization, marked by the development of guild characteristics, but this is not the statistically normal process of our time. Rather, the more common

⁶³ The comparison is Stevenson's *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121, who also comments wryly that few parents believe that their children are dull, and few psychotherapists believe that their patients have not improved.

⁶⁴ The symposium of Rubinstein and Parloff, noted above, shows however, that a good beginning has been made. See also Henry L. Lennard and A. Bernstein, *The Anatomy of Psychotherapy*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

emerging professions now grow from the application of new scientific specialties to concrete problems, and their formal associations acquire only a few of the features of a guild. The major intellectual fields have not moved toward guildhood, so that psychology is nearly unique in this respect, and is no model for sociology to follow.

As to the future, it seems safe to assert that both will continue to exist separately and in some conflict. Neither will destroy one another, simply because the demand for psychotherapeutic services is so great.⁶⁵ The apparent power of the AMA, as expressed in medical practice laws, is illusory. I have been unable to find a single case in which a properly trained clinical psychologist has been successfully prosecuted for engaging in private practice.⁶⁶ I would venture, however, that psychiatric training will come to include more psychology. Perhaps medical schools will begin to include departments of psychology among their basic sciences. And clinical psychological training will include more training in the organic roots of psychodynamic symptoms. In addition, "private practice" in both professions, as in medicine generally, will increasingly take on a group or team pattern, so that whether or not their respective professional guilds make peace with one another, individual psychiatrists and psychologists will do so.

A prediction or two may be noted with respect to the formal organization of sociology itself. Sociology will no doubt move somewhat toward guildhood, under the pressure of the American Psychological Association. Every attempt to demand recognition where sociologists feel that the APA has removed or weakened it will be met by the counter-demand that they, too, set specific training standards, criteria for ethical conduct, and so on. On the other hand, I doubt that reputable sociologists who are social psychologists will be prosecuted for calling themselves "psychologists" under

⁶⁵ There are about 700,000 mental hospital inmates, and for each of them there is another serious case outside the hospital. The ratio of therapists per 100,000 population does not increase much each year. As noted earlier, psychiatrists increase each year by only about 450, and the approximately 50 universities with clinical psychology programs can turn out only a slightly greater number of therapists each year. See Albee and Dickey, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-62.

⁶⁶ See Anonymous, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-478, who contrasts the situation with the frequent law enforcement against masseurs, beauticians, and so on. Physicians have told me that there are no cases or decisions because they know that they cannot obtain prosecutions.

the laws of any of the states where such laws exist. Furthermore, now that sociologists have been alerted, and have begun to oppose them, I doubt that many laws with so general a wording will be passed in the future. They will either fail, as they have in Texas and Kansas, or they will be worded so as to specify the group they should control, that is, clinical psychologists engaged in therapy.

I should like to predict, too, that sociologists will eventually give up the claim to the title "social psychologist." The term has a certain use now in dealing with laymen, who seem to grasp intuitively what sociologists do if it is called "social psychology," but perhaps as we demonstrate more adequately our skills as sociologists, "sociologist" will become definite in meaning, and adequate for our personal as well as our professional pride.

If generalizations of some power and precision are developed, our intellectual wares will be in increasing demand for solving human problems. Such applications are to be encouraged, not deplored. But the model for our professional conduct should be the scientist, not the guild member.

Shaw wrote his usual half-truth when he charged that every profession is a conspiracy against the laity, and it is true that often an occupational group sees no difference between its interest and that of the public. If we, then, are concerned lest the public be cheated, our ingenuity would be better employed in developing the science of sociology, and in imbuing our students with the ethics of science, than in emulating the existing or the emerging guilds. Let us give our energies to the creation of a science all can respect; this will protect both sociologists and the public better than the erection of a guild.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION 1950-1959

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The Directories of Members of the Association contain information which bears upon a wide variety of problems confronting not only the members, committees, and officers of the

* In association with Mary E. Moore, Arthur Liebman, Nellie Keshishian, and other members of the staffs of the Executive Office and the Rutgers Research Group.

Association, but also the profession as a whole. Accordingly, the data from the 1959 Directory were coded and punched onto I.B.M. cards, together with the comparable data from the first Directory, published in 1950. The resultant tables, which were sent in preliminary form to the members of the Association's Council for their interpretations and suggestions, are published here for distribution to the membership and to other interested persons.

Certain of these tables deal with problems set forth by Talcott Parsons in his preliminary formulation, for discussion by the Association, of "Some Problems Confronting Sociology as a Profession."¹ The data, to be sure, like all data not originally collected for the purposes at hand, are in several respects inadequate for an analysis of the state of the profession. Many members failed to supply complete information, or supplied it in a form which has been difficult to classify. Moreover, there is no way to determine the extent to which the data apply to sociologists as a whole, rather than merely to the membership of the Association. There are doubtless various selective biases which operate to bring certain kinds of people into the Association, while tending to exclude others; and such biases may vary over time. Of possible relevance is the finding that, among the new members who joined the Association between 1950 and 1959 (excluding Student Members), 73 per cent reported receipt of a graduate degree since 1950; this suggests that most of the new members of the Association may also be recent recruits to the field.

INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP

The total number of members of the Association has grown from 3,522 in 1950 to 6,345 in 1959, an increase of 80 per cent.

Table 1 shows the distribution of these members by Census areas. In 1959, two-thirds of the members were located in the regions east of the Mississippi, with 26 per cent in the Middle Atlantic and 21 per cent in the East North Central area. Compared with 1950, the absolute numbers of 1959 members have increased in all regions, but the relative predominance of the Eastern regions has declined slightly. At the same time, the Pacific's share has grown from nine to 13 per cent; and membership from other countries has increased from three to six per cent.²

¹ *American Sociological Review*, 24 (August, 1959), pp. 547-559.

² Some of these foreign members have been brought in under the Asia Foundation Grant, which financed nearly 100 members in 1959.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS BY REGION

	1950		1959	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
New England	302	9	462	7
Middle Atlantic	950	27	1642	26
South Atlantic	406	11	696	11
East South Central	107	3	149	2
East North Central	816	23	1338	21
West North Central	285	8	440	7
West South Central	148	4	232	4
Mountain	99	3	165	3
Pacific	307	9	814	13
Foreign	102	3	407	6
Total members	3,522	100	6,345	100

SHIFTS IN MEMBERSHIP

This widespread growth in membership, however, has not been a steady process of accretion. In any given year, there are always considerable losses, which are nevertheless more than counterbalanced by gains. In the year 1959, for example, about 700 members were cut from the rolls, a few because of death or resignation, but the majority because of non-payment of dues. Over against these losses, some 200 former members were reinstated during that year, and 1,200 new members were added. New members are brought in through the efforts of the Membership Committee, through invitations sent out by the Executive Office, and increasingly through unsolicited contacts as the Association becomes more widely known and recognized.

Such yearly shifts in the Association's constituency have accumulated over the past decade, as shown in Table 2. Of the 3,522 members in 1950, only 1,925 form the hard core of "permanent" members who still belonged to

the Association nine years later. Of the remainder, 83 died and 1,514 dropped out between 1950 and 1959. Thus, of the 6,345 members in the 1959 Directory, 4,420 were new members who had joined since 1950.⁸

The original tabulations of Directory data were set up to permit comparisons among these "discontinued," "permanent," and "new" members; these comparisons are referred to below at points where they seem to illuminate the changes which have occurred.

CLASSES OF MEMBERSHIP

These gross changes in the number of members take on more meaning when they are examined in terms of the several classes of membership defined in the By-Laws.

Table 3 shows that the number of Student Members, though considerably larger in 1959 than in 1950, constitutes a somewhat smaller proportion of the total membership nowadays (31 per cent) than it did formerly (35 per cent). Thus the trend has been toward inclusion in the Association of larger proportions of individuals who are no longer students, who have presumably finished their training, and are ready for teaching, research, or practice.

Among these non-student members, it is notably the Associate Members—persons interested in sociology but not eligible for Active status—who have shown the greatest increase. Thus, 24 per cent of the membership is now in this category, in contrast to only 17 per cent in 1950. Meanwhile the proportion of Active Members (and Fellows) has decreased somewhat; it is now 45 per cent, as compared with 48 per cent in 1950. This shift toward more Associate Members is consistent with concomitant changes in the definition of Active

⁸ There are, of course, a few members who drop in and out by paying dues sporadically.

TABLE 2. SHIFTS IN MEMBERSHIP

Discontinued Members in 1950 who:	"Permanent" Members in both 1950 and 1959		New Members joining since 1950	Total
	Dropped out	Died		
1950				3,522
1959				6,345

TABLE 3. MEMBERS BY MEMBERSHIP CLASS

	1950		1959		Percentage increase 1950 to 1959
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Active (and Fellow)	1,675	48	2,835	45	169
Associate	608	17	1,546	24	254
Student	1,239	35	1,964	31	159
Total members	3,522	100	6,345	100	180

Membership, and is in line with the objective of the 1950 Reorganization Committee to "permit a general rise in the standards of [Active] membership over time, as the standards of sociological training improve and the number of well-trained sociologists increases."⁴

It should also be noted that the category of Fellow was not introduced until 1959. Most Active Members now become eligible for Fellowship in the Association after five years in the Active status.⁵

SHIFTS IN MEMBERSHIP BY MEMBERSHIP CLASS

Table 4 is a further breakdown of Table 3, showing the distribution by membership class of the discontinued, permanent, and new members.

Some clues to the loss of 1,597 members (only 83 of whom are known to have died) are suggested in column (2). Here it appears that nearly half (47 per cent) of these discontinued members were in the Student category in 1950, and another 22 per cent of them were Associates. The interest in sociology of these individuals may well have been merely peripheral or temporary. Thus only 31 per cent of the discontinued members were Active, and hence presumably committed to the field—at least at that time.

While the discontinuance rate of 1950 Students and Associates has indeed been high (over one-half of them have dropped out), there are nevertheless important additions from these categories to the hard core of permanent members.⁶ The absolute numbers in column (3)

show that no less than 480 Students and 261 Associates—as well as 1,184 Actives—have continued as members in 1959. Moreover, these permanent members have been subjected to the process of reclassification during the interim; comparison of columns (3) and (5) shows that the proportion of combined Active Members and Fellows has increased from 61 to 86 per cent; while the proportion of Student Members has dropped from 25 to only one per cent.

The pattern of replacement is shown in the contrast between columns (2) and (6). The 1,597 discontinued members have been replaced by nearly three times as many new members. In line with the recent emphasis on Associate membership, 29 per cent of these replacements are Associates, as compared with only the 22 per cent Associates among the discontinued members.

GRADUATE DEGREES

The tendency toward a higher proportion of Associate Members raises the question of whether this is due entirely to increasingly rigorous standards for Active membership, or whether there may also have been some decline in the general level of training of those applying for membership. The answer to this question is clarified by Table 5. This table is based on reports by each member (except Students, a category omitted from all of the subsequent discussion) of his highest graduate degree, indicating the academic field, the granting institution, and the date. The total columns for 1950 and 1959 show not only a rise in the level of training of the membership during the last decade, but also the fact that more of the members are now trained in sociology. The proportion reporting a Ph.D. (or foreign doctorate) in sociology has risen from 40 to 47 per cent. By contrast, the proportion reporting no graduate degree has fallen from 15 to 11 per cent. Altogether, 62 per cent hold the doctorate in sociology or another field in 1959, while 64 per cent report a graduate degree in the field of sociology.

⁴ *American Sociological Review*, 15 (August, 1950), p. 562. See By-Laws, *American Sociological Review*, 12 (October, 1947), p. 566, and 1959 Directory, p. 191. See also Report of the Classification Committee in this issue of the *Review*, pp. 944-955.

⁵ The few exceptions are those whose Active status rested originally on education or experience outside the field of sociology, and who do not have major commitment to this field.

⁶ This indicates the value of maintaining a Student Member category, which is sometimes challenged in view of the low rate of Student dues.

TABLE 4. SHIFTS IN MEMBERSHIP BY MEMBERSHIP CLASS

	1950				1959			
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	Total	No.	Discontinued After 1950	No.	Permanent	No.	Total	No.
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Fellow	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,560	25
Active	1,675	48	491	31	1,184	61	1,271	66
Associate	608	17	347	22	261	14	381	20
Student	1,239	35	759	47	480	25	1,546	24
Total members	3,522	100	1,597	100	1,925	100	6,345	100
							1,925	100
							4,420	100

TABLE 5. HIGHEST GRADUATE DEGREE

	1950				1959			
	Total		Active Members		Associate Members		Active Members and Fellows	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Ph.D. (or foreign doctorate) in Sociology	856	401	831	52	25	4	1,888	412
Other degrees in Sociology	405	19	263	17	142	25	685	17
Doctorate in other fields	311	14	255	16	56	10	588	15
Other degrees in other fields	262	12	100	6	162	29	392	10
No graduate degree, no answer	323	15	142	9	181	32	428	11
Total members	2,157	100	1,591	100	566	100	3,981	100
Excluding retired members and those giving name and address only	126	—	—	—	—	—	400	—

¹ Including three per cent of members with doctorates in "social psychology," and 14 per cent with degrees in sociology combined with another field.

² Including five per cent of members with doctorates in "social psychology," and seven per cent with degrees in sociology combined with another field.

TABLE 6. INSTITUTIONS FROM WHICH 1959 MEMBERS RECEIVED DOCTORATES IN SOCIOLOGY¹

	No.	Per Cent		No.	Per Cent
Chicago	211	11	Washington State	13	1
Columbia	154	8	Iowa State	12	1
Harvard	127	7	Fordham	10	1
Wisconsin	108	6	St. Louis	10	1
No. Carolina	83	4	American	9	*
Yale	82	4	Kansas	8	*
Michigan	81	4	Oregon	7	*
Ohio State	78	4	Utah	7	*
Cornell	75	4	Colorado	6	*
Minnesota	51	3	Maryland	6	*
U. of Penn.	49	3	Princeton	6	*
New York U.	44	2	Syracuse	6	*
U. of Washington	43	2	Boston U.	5	*
So. California	43	2	U.C.L.A.	5	*
Michigan State	36	2	Purdue	5	*
Louisiana	32	2	Virginia	5	*
Northwestern	29	2	Bryn Mawr	4	*
Catholic U.	28	1	Florida State	4	*
California (Berk.)	27	1	Kentucky	4	*
Pittsburgh	27	1	Tulane	4	*
State U. of Iowa	27	1	Florida	3	*
Penn. State	22	1	Hartford Sem. Fdn.	3	*
Stanford	22	1	No. Dakota	2	*
Washington	21	1	Oklahoma	2	*
New School	18	1	Clark U.	1	*
Duke	17	1	Connecticut	1	*
Missouri	17	1	George Washington	1	*
Texas	17	1	Howard	1	*
Vanderbilt	17	1	Moravian College	1	*
Nebraska	16	1	Mt. St. Scholastica	1	*
Illinois	15	1	Notre Dame	1	*
Radcliffe	15	1	Wayne State	1	*
Indiana	14	1	Western Reserve	1	*
All Foreign Schools				86	5

¹ Percentages based on 1,887 members in 1959 reporting the Ph.D. or a foreign doctorate in sociology. (One member failed to report the institution.)

* Less than .5 per cent.

WHO ARE THE ASSOCIATE MEMBERS?

When Associate Members are compared with Active Members and Fellows, of course sharp differences are found. The data on the educational background of Associate Members in Table 5 are of special interest because they bear on a persistent question, namely: Who are the Associate Members? How are they divided between sociologists-in-the-making and persons in other fields? While this table does not provide a direct answer, it does offer certain clues. It shows that, in 1959, 41 per cent of the Associates have their highest graduate degree in

sociology,⁷ as compared with only 34 per cent with highest graduate degrees in other disciplines. This is quite the reverse of the 1950 emphasis, when more of the degrees (39 per cent) were in fields other than sociology (29

⁷ Three per cent of these hold the Ph.D. in sociology. They are nevertheless classified as Associates, some because they had not made application for reclassification at the time of Directory preparation, some through their own choice, and others because certain degrees from non-liberal arts colleges or foreign institutions were not regarded by the Classification Committee as meeting the criteria for Active membership.

TABLE 7. INSTITUTIONS FROM WHICH 1959 MEMBERS RECEIVED DOCTORATES IN SOCIOLOGY,
BY DATE OF DEGREE

Selected U.S. schools ¹	1929 and before		1930 to 1939		1940 to 1949		1950 to 1959	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Chicago	21	20	24	11	69	18	96	8
Columbia	12	11	22	10	22	6	96	8
Yale	7	6	18	8	17	4	40	3
Cornell	6	6	6	3	15	4	46	4
No. Carolina	5	5	11	5	16	4	51	4
U. of Penn.	5	5	8	4	7	2	29	3
Wisconsin	5	5	21	9	29	8	52	4
Michigan	3	3	8	4	6	2	62	5
Minnesota	3	3	13	6	5	1	30	3
Missouri	3	3	—	—	4	1	10	1
Ohio State	3	3	10	4	16	4	49	4
So. California	2	2	3	1	15	4	22	2
Catholic U.	1	1	5	2	11	3	11	1
Harvard	1	1	15	7	33	9	77	7
Vanderbilt	—	—	7	3	2	1	8	1
Stanford	—	—	5	2	4	1	13	1
California (Berk.)	—	—	3	1	—	—	24	2
New York U.	—	—	3	1	4	1	37	3
Louisiana	—	—	1	*	11	3	20	2
Michigan State	—	—	1	*	5	1	30	3
U. Washington	—	—	—	—	6	2	37	3
All other U.S. schools	11	10	26	11	62	17	287	25
All foreign schools	19	18	18	8	16	4	31	3
Four highest ranking schools in each period	46	43	85	37	153	41	331	29
Total members reporting the Ph.D. (or foreign doctorate) in sociology ²	107	100	228	100	375	100	1,158	100
Total number of schools involved in each period	23		30		46		60	

¹ Every school which granted more than 2 per cent of the Ph.D.s received in any one time period is mentioned by name.

² Excluding 19 who did not supply date of degree.

* Less than .5 per cent.

per cent). Thus it appears that Associate membership continues to serve two functions: as a transition category for sociologists not yet qualified for Active status, and as a liaison category for persons whose major commitment is outside of sociology proper.⁸ The transition function now seems, however, to be the predom-

⁸ Such commitment in many instances is to a related applied field or a general social science field, which may be regarded by the member as "sociology" even when it is not so defined by the Classification Committee. This would complicate the definition of a separate category of "Liaison Members" which is occasionally proposed.

inant one. (Moreover, those Associates who discontinued their membership are least apt to have been sociologists-in-transition: it appears from further analysis [not shown] that only 21 per cent of the discontinued Associates reported a graduate degree in sociology, as compared with 40 per cent among the 1950 Associates who continued their membership.)

TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

Table 6 lists the institutions from which the Ph.D.s (or foreign doctorates) in sociology were received, as reported by the 1959 members of

the Association. Sixty-six different United States institutions were reported; while five per cent of the doctorates were received from foreign schools.

Table 7 re-arranges these data so as to show the dates of the degrees. The column totals record the number of 1959 members receiving their doctorates in each of four time periods. A very large proportion (61 per cent, or 1,158 out of the 1,888 degree holders) took the degree within the last ten years. This indicates an influx of younger sociologists into the Association, and presumably into the field. As one Council member speculated after studying these tables, "Obviously the young moderns are about to dominate the Association. The New Look should be impressive in the later 1960s."

Table 7 suggests further that the training process may be more widely distributed among a variety of institutions than it used to be. Members who were awarded degrees before 1930 received them from only 23 institutions, whereas those who have been awarded degrees since 1950 have received them from no less than 60 institutions. Forty-three per cent of the degrees received before 1930 came from only four institutions; but in 1950-1959, only 29 per cent of the degrees came from the four institutions ranking highest in degrees awarded during that period. At the same time, there has been an increase from 10 to 25 per cent of the degrees received from "all other U. S. schools"—no one of which granted more than two per cent of the total Ph.D.s in any one time period.

To the extent that these member reports may reflect an actual change in the institutional training structure, they point to some challenging questions. On the one hand, there are no longer one or two schools which are clearly predominant. (One Council member speaks of this as a "healthy decline of concentration.") On the other hand, as Parsons has pointed out, it seems clear that more manpower is now required to staff more and more departments which are turning out more and more Ph.D.s. If, as he predicts, the demand for personnel continues to outrun the supply, there may be a scarcity of qualified sociologists to develop the discipline and to train their successors.⁹

OCCUPATIONAL AFFILIATION

For both Directories, each member (excluding students) was asked to report his principal occupational affiliation, including institution, department, and title. Table 8 shows the types of affiliations reported.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 559.

In 1959 there were 2,381 members, a majority of the total, who report affiliation with liberal arts programs in colleges and universities. This contrasts with only 1,466 members in liberal arts affiliations in 1950, an increase of nearly two-thirds. One of the Council members comments: "A proper pattern. The need for educators will be great for the years ahead, and it is well that the majority of members work in Liberal Arts to breed a larger generation of scholars for the future." It should be noted, however, that graduate and undergraduate programs are here combined. Unfortunately, the Directory data do not lend themselves to an analysis of the training function of the one, as distinguished from what Parsons calls the "general education function" of the other.¹⁰ (Further discussion of the positions of the academically affiliated members appears below.)

As the size of the membership has increased, however, the proportion of members in liberal arts affiliations has declined (in distinction to the increase in absolute numbers), from 67 per cent in 1950 to 59 per cent at present. The proportion of members employed by the Federal Government is five per cent at both time periods.¹¹ Meanwhile, relatively more members have become associated with professional schools of medicine, business, and so on;¹² as well as with hospitals, business firms, secondary schools, and other institutions in which sociology may be applied. Professional schools and such "other" types of affiliation together claim one-third of the membership in 1959, as compared with one-quarter in 1950. Further analysis (not shown here) indicates that the trend is especially pronounced among the *new* 1959 members, suggesting that the younger sociologists may be tending to branch out beyond the liberal arts colleges more than their older counterparts.¹³ This trend seems to be con-

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 554.

¹¹ A further study of the job descriptions of federally employed members is being conducted by the Association's Committee on Sociology and the Federal Government.

¹² As Parsons points out (*op. cit.*, p. 556), the prototype of such affiliation is the linkage between rural sociology and colleges of agriculture. One Council member suggested that such linkage be traced by studying the affiliations of members giving rural sociology as a field of competence. Most of these members did not list a specific affiliation with a college of agriculture, however, and are classified in these tables under "liberal arts."

¹³ A special study of occupational turnover among the permanent members has been made by Arthur Liebman as part of a Rutgers M.A. dissertation. While, in absolute terms, to be sure, more members

TABLE 8. OCCUPATIONAL AFFILIATION

	1950		1959	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Liberal arts	1,466	67	2,381	59
Professional school	166	8	450	11
Business administration, technology, agriculture	37	2	108	3
Education	57	3	96	2
Medicine, nursing, dentistry	19	1	126	3
Law	2	*	10	*
Theology	25	1	45	1
Social Work	15	1	40	1
Miscellaneous	10	*	22	1
Retired	1	*	3	*
Federal Government	106	5	211	5
Commerce, agriculture	35	2	37	1
Corrections	1	*	5	*
Education	4	*	8	*
Health	12	1	38	1
Information	4	*	9	*
Justice	1	*	1	*
Military	27	1	67	2
Welfare	7	*	28	1
Miscellaneous	15	1	18	*
Other types of affiliation	386	17	865	21
Business, industrial	109	5	264	6
Correctional	11	1	33	1
Educational	24	1	61	2
Health	34	2	127	3
Informational	30	1	40	1
Legal	6	*	12	*
Religious	24	1	52	1
Welfare	71	3	139	3
Miscellaneous	68	3	114	3
Retired	9	*	23	1
No information	77	3	162	4
Total non-student members	2,201	100	4,069	100
Excluding members giving name and address only	82	—	312	—

* Less than .5 per cent.

sistent with Donald Young's Presidential Address on "Sociology and the Practicing Professions," which in 1955 called for wider use of sociological knowledge for the practical concerns of society.¹⁴

had shifted away from, than toward, liberal arts affiliations from 1950 to 1959, in relative terms liberal arts has had the strongest holding power. That is, among those in liberal arts institutions in 1950, only 14 per cent had shifted away into professional schools or other types of institutions by 1959; whereas, 24 per cent of those in "other" affiliations and 35 per cent of those in professional schools had changed their affiliation by 1959.

¹⁴ *American Sociological Review*, 20 (December, 1955), pp. 641-648.

OCCUPATIONAL AFFILIATION BY MEMBERSHIP CLASS

In interpreting the changes in affiliation shown in Table 8, the question arises of how they may have been produced. Are they due entirely to the influx into the Association of Associate Members? Since most of these are sociologists who have not completed their training, or persons from other fields entirely, they might well be expected to work outside of the liberal arts schools. Or is the change due in part to a tendency for 1959 Active Members and Fellows to affiliate themselves somewhat more often with professional schools and various institutions in which sociology may be applied? In order to investigate this question, the occupa-

tional affiliations of Actives-and-Fellows and of Associates were separately examined, as shown in Table 9.

Here it appears that the trend away from liberal arts institutions, while indeed more marked among the Associates, also occurs among the voting members as well. Among Associates, 53 per cent were in liberal arts colleges and universities in 1950, as contrasted with only 40 per cent in 1959. Meanwhile, the proportion of Associates in professional schools has risen from eight to ten per cent, and the proportion in "other" types of institutions from 30 to 37 per cent. Similarly, among the Active Members and Fellows, there are now relatively fewer with liberal arts affiliations (a drop from 72 to 67 per cent), and relatively more in professional schools (an increase from seven to 12 per cent).

POSITIONS OF THE ACADEMICALLY AFFILIATED

Table 10 shows the academic titles reported by those members whose affiliation (as in Tables 8 and 9) is with liberal arts or professional schools. Particularly noteworthy are the changes in teaching. Many more members are engaged in teaching nowadays—2,330 as contrasted with 1,438 in 1950. Proportionately, however, there has been a decline. Among the academically affiliated (Table 10), the percentage of teachers has dropped from 88 to 82. When all the members (excluding Students) are taken as the base, this drop is still more pronounced—since the proportion who are academically affiliated has also fallen off: 65 per cent of all non-student members were teachers in 1950, in contrast to 57 per cent today. (Here again it should be noted that these figures include both graduate and undergraduate teachers, as well as those in professional schools.)

Table 10 also suggests that, since 1950, there has been an upward shift into the higher teaching ranks (from Instructor to Associate and full Professor), consistent with the increase in the number of trained sociologists within the membership.

The proportion of academically affiliated members listing research titles has risen from four per cent in 1950 to eight per cent in 1959. This suggests a possible tendency toward allocation of university personnel to research posts as such; though it by no means reflects, of course, the number of members, both inside and outside the universities, who spend at least part of their time in research.

A tabulation (not shown) of the departments to which members belong shows that 74 per cent of the academically affiliated in 1959, as

TABLE 9. OCCUPATIONAL AFFILIATION BY MEMBERSHIP CLASS

	1950						1959					
	Total		Active Members		Associate Members		Total		Active Members and Fellows		Associate Members	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Liberal arts	1,466	67	1,168	72	298	53	2,381	59	1,856	67	525	40
Professional schools	166	8	117	7	49	8	450	11	320	12	130	10
Federal government	106	5	76	5	30	5	211	5	116	4	95	7
Other	386	17	216	13	170	30	865	21	395	14	470	37
No information	77	3	57	3	20	4	162	4	89	3	73	6
Total members	2,201	100	1,634	100	567	100	4,069	100	2,776	100	1,293	100
Excluding members giving name and address only	82	—	—	—	—	—	312	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 10. TITLES OF ACADEMICALLY AFFILIATED MEMBERS

	1950		1959	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Teaching	1,438	88	2,330	82
Professor	418	26	785	28
Associate professor	248	15	559	20
Assistant professor	343	21	565	20
Instructor	188	11	212	7
Lecturer	63	4	102	4
Teaching assistant	9	1	15	*
Chairman, rank not specified	169	10	92	3
Research	66	4	217	8
Supervisory	28	2	92	3
Assistants	38	2	125	5
Administrative	312	19	477	17
Chairman, department head	235	14	330	12
Dean, university official	68	4	120	4
Misc. staff members	9	1	27	1
Retired, no answer	66	4	177	6
Total academically affiliated members	1,632	—	2,831	—
Total titles mentioned ¹	1,882	115	3,201	113

¹ Percentages add to more than 100 because some members reported both teaching and administrative or research titles.

* Less than .5 per cent.

compared with 82 per cent in 1950, are in departments of sociology (or sociology combined with another field). Relatively more members in 1959—eight per cent as against an earlier four per cent—are in professional departments of social work, business, and the like (either in professional schools or in liberal arts colleges); and more also—nine per cent as compared with six per cent in 1950—are in general social science departments (such as human relations, human development, or social science). Thus, in line with Parsons' *caveat*, there is little evidence of a "retreat into disciplinary parochialism."¹⁵

FIELDS OF COMPETENCE

Each member was asked to report a maximum of three sociological fields in which he was qualified to teach or to do research. He was to list these as he would like to have his professional activity known and recognized. These activities were then classified into 33 fields of sociology with an additional category for fields other than sociology. These are shown in Table 11. Because of the difficulty of clas-

sifying many of the listings,¹⁶ these materials should be interpreted with a degree of caution.

Tables 12 and 13 re-arrange some of these data in order to throw light on the changes taking place between the two time periods. The fields were ranked in order of frequency of citation for each year. The 16 top ranking fields for 1950 are shown in Table 12 together with the comparable ranking of these fields in 1959.¹⁷ As this table shows, the three fields most frequently mentioned in 1950 are social psychology (which includes both the general field and a heterogeneity of such specialties as socialization, collective behavior, and sociometry); marriage and the family; and methodology and methods of research. These three maintain their lead in 1959, although methodology has replaced marriage and the family in second position. On the other hand, race and ethnic relations, in fourth place in 1950, has fallen to eighth by 1959; while the sociology of organization (social structure, institu-

¹⁶ This difficulty of listing and defining the fields of sociology has been a perennial problem facing Association committees during the last decade.

¹⁷ Religion, which ranked 15th in 1959, does not appear in the table, since it was not among the first 16 in 1950 (when it ranked 19th).

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 559.

TABLE 11. FIELDS OF COMPETENCE

	1950		1959	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Aging, problems of	14	1	45	1
Area studies	42	3	95	3
Art, music and literature, sociology of	9	1	28	1
Community	171	11	326	9
Criminology	151	10	361	10
Cultural anthropology	162	11	341	9
Disorganization, deviance	123	8	253	7
Educational sociology	45	3	111	3
General sociology	209	14	419	12
History, sociology and/of	35	2	52	1
Industrial sociology	127	8	307	9
Knowledge, sociology of	19	1	40	1
Law, sociology of	10	1	35	1
Marriage and family	288	19	605	17
Medical sociology	26	2	188	5
Mental health, sociology of	28	2	113	3
Methodology, techniques and methods of research	236	15	662	18
Occupations, work, sociology of	18	1	103	3
Organization, sociology of	110	7	464	13
Political sociology	64	4	177	5
Population	181	12	380	11
Public opinion and communication	130	8	318	9
Race and ethnic relations	228	15	373	10
Religion, sociology of	61	4	209	6
Rural sociology	126	8	199	6
Small groups	31	2	112	3
Social change	35	2	81	2
Social control	13	1	9	*
Social psychology	334	22	901	25
Social welfare, sociology and	64	4	114	3
Stratification	28	2	193	5
Theory	206	14	434	12
Urban sociology and ecology	118	8	201	6
Other fields, not sociology	284	19	732	20
Total non-student members reporting fields of competence	1,530	100	3,593	100
Excluding members not answering	753		788	
Total fields mentioned	3,726	245	8,981	249

* Less than .5 per cent.

tions, leadership, comparative institutional structures) has risen from 16th position to fourth.¹⁸

In line with the increase in the number of members, most fields of competence are mentioned by over twice as many individuals in 1959 as in 1950. When the total number of

citations for 1950 is used as a base of 100, the index of over-all increase in 1959 is 241. Within this total, particular fields of course have changed at varying rates. Those fields having the greatest—and, by way of contrast, the least—change are shown in Table 13.

Fields showing relatively high increases appear to fall into groups of related areas such as (a) medical sociology, mental health and aging; (b) stratification, occupations, organization, and small groups; (c) sociology of law, religion and art, music, and literature.

¹⁸ A further analysis comparing discontinued, permanent, and new members, and controlled by membership category, shows little variation in these basic patterns.

TABLE 12. FIELDS OF COMPETENCE MOST FREQUENTLY REPORTED
(Data Selected from Table 11)

Sixteen top-ranking fields in 1950	1950		1959	
	Per Cent	Rank	Per Cent	Rank
Social psychology	22	1	25	1
Marriage and family	19	2	17	3
Methodology, techniques and methods of research	15	3	18	2
Race and ethnic relations	15	4	10	8
General sociology	14	5	12	6
Theory	14	6	12	5
Population	12	7	11	7
Community	11	8	9	11
Cultural anthropology	11	9	9	10
Criminology	10	10	10	9
Public opinion and communication	8	11	9	12
Industrial sociology	8	12	9	13
Rural sociology	8	13	6	17
Disorganization, deviance	8	14	7	14
Urban sociology and ecology	8	15	6	16
Organization, sociology of	7	16	13	4

(Where different ranks are used for two fields with the same percentages, these differences coincide with differences in the absolute numbers.)

Several of these trends appear to reflect the increasing emphasis on various fields of practice (notably health). They may also reflect certain characteristics of sociology's changing contribution to contemporary ideology. Suggesting an emerging "sociological era" (engaged in

"a kind of dialectic between a psychological focus of interest in the individual and a sociological focus of interest in the society"), Parsons notes a shift in undergraduate teaching emphasis from "the problem of how to cope with clear-cut 'evils' in the society," to concern

TABLE 13. FIELDS OF COMPETENCE SHOWING GREATEST AND LEAST CHANGE, 1950-1959
(Data Selected from Table 11)

	Number of Members Mentioning in:		Percentage Change 1950 to 1959
	1950	1959	
Fields showing greatest change			
Medical sociology	26	188	723
Stratification	28	193	689
Occupations, work, sociology of	18	103	572
Organization	110	464	422
Mental health, sociology of	28	113	404
Small groups	31	112	361
Law, sociology of	10	35	350
Religion, sociology of	61	209	343
Aging, problems of	14	45	321
Art, music, literature, sociology of	9	28	311
Fields showing least change			
Community	171	326	191
Social welfare, sociology and	64	114	178
Urban sociology and ecology	118	201	170
Race and ethnic relations	228	373	164
Rural sociology	126	199	158
History, sociology and/or	35	52	149
Social control	13	9	69
Total fields mentioned	3,726	8,981	241

with "what kind of a society it is" and "where it is going."¹⁹

SUMMARY

This analysis of the 1950 and the 1959 Directories shows an 80 per cent increase in the number of members during this decade, as well as a rise in the level of their formal education. Forty-seven per cent of the non-student members hold the Ph.D. in sociology in 1959, for example, in contrast to 40 per cent in 1950. Insofar as the membership of the Association may reflect trends within the profession as a whole, this indicates a rapidly increasing supply of trained sociologists.

During this same period, sociologists have also broadened the range of their occupational

activities. To be sure, most of the members are still affiliated with liberal arts colleges and universities. In absolute numbers, nearly 2,400 members in 1959, as contrasted with only 1,500 in 1950, are engaged in teaching, research, or administrative work in liberal arts programs. Nevertheless, more and more teachers are needed, not only for undergraduate classes, but also for the rapidly expanding graduate training programs. Moreover, as the membership has increased, the relative proportion affiliated with liberal arts institutions has declined from 67 to 59 per cent. Meanwhile, relatively more members have entered both professional schools and diverse organizations which employ more and more sociologists.

These trends suggest a variety of possible future developments and problems in recruitment, training, and apportionment of personnel among teaching, research and fields of practice.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 554-555.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 55TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE STATLER HILTON HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 28, 29, 30 AND 31, 1960

First New York Meeting of the 1960 Council August 28, 1960

The first meeting of the 1960 Council was called to order at 10:00 a.m. on August 28, 1960 by Vice-President Wilbert Moore. The following members of the 1960 Council were present: Reinhard Bendix, John Clausen, W. Fred Cottrell, Robert Faris, William Goode, George Homans, Rex Hopper, Seymour Lipset, Charles Loomis, Walter Martin, Robert Merton, Wilbert Moore, Charles Page, John Riley, William Sewell, Marion Smith, Ralph Turner, George Vold, Frank Westie, Robin Williams, Donald Young, and Matilda Riley *ex officio*. From the 1961 Council: Harry Alpert, Donald Cressey, Walter Firey, Reuben Hill, Paul Lazarsfeld, Talcott Parsons, Harold Saunders, and Rupert Vance. In addition the following committee chairmen and representatives were present: Wilbur Brookover, Joseph Eaton, Alvin Gouldner, Harold Pfautz, Hanan Selvin, Elbridge Sibley, Guy Swanson, Conrad Taeuber, and Vincent Whitney. Also present was Janice Harris, Administrative Officer.

1. The chair took note of the untimely deaths of President Becker and Past-President Stouffer and

announced that memorial minutes would be prepared by the Committee on Resolutions.

2. A Committee on Resolutions for the 1960 meetings was appointed: Robin Williams, Chairman; Harry Alpert and Harold Pfautz.

3. On the question of criteria for membership in the various Sections of the Association, the Council took the position that such criteria in general should not be unduly restrictive and emphasized the distinction between membership criteria, on the one hand, and certification criteria on the other.

4. Three resolutions pertaining to various aspects of the certification problem were received from the Ohio Valley Sociological Society and it was voted that these matters be studied by an *ad hoc* committee consisting of Talcott Parsons, Chairman; Robert Merton and Guy Swanson; and their findings reported to the first meeting of the 1961 Council.

5. A fourth resolution from the Ohio Valley Sociological Society pertaining to uniformity in the formats of the Association's journals was referred to the editors of the *Review* and *Sociometry*.

6. The Council voted to reaffirm the action taken last year clarifying the term "major commitment" to sociology as follows:

Active members whose status rested on criterion (c), education or professional achievement in a closely related field, and who are now, under the five-year rule, eligible to become Fellows, shall be

given the option of becoming Fellows or remaining Active members depending upon whether they report themselves (in writing) as having "major commitment to the field of Sociology;"

and instructed the Classification Committee that high standards for Active membership should be maintained.

7. Regarding the site for the 1963 meetings, the Council reaffirmed the earlier decision to meet on the West Coast with the detailed arrangements as to place and facilities being left in the hands of the President-Elect for that meeting, the Secretary and the Executive Officer.

8. President-Elect Faris was authorized to appoint a committee to work with a Social Science Research Council-American Council of Learned Societies committee in arranging a conference to be attended by sociologists from Latin American countries and the United States.

9. The Council received with gratitude informal reports from Chairmen of the 1960 and 1961 Conference Committees, Rex Hopper and Alvin Gouldner respectively.

10. The Council reviewed the various reports from Officers, Committee Chairmen, and Representatives, as preprinted for the December, 1960 *Review*, and took action as follows:

- (a) The Committee on the Profession was dissolved in accordance with its own recommendation, and four separate committees, each representing a former sub-committee, were authorized: Legislation and Certification; Sociology in the Federal Government; Ethics of the Profession; Organization and Plans. The phrasing of the titles for these committees may be revised by the officers. Each will report to the Council.
- (b) The recommendation in the report from the Executive Officer for intensive study of the structure of the Association was referred to the new Committee on Organization and Plans.
- (c) The recommendation from the Editor of the *Review* that a salaried Assistant Editor who would serve primarily as a copy editor be authorized was referred to the Budget Committee for report on feasibility.
- (d) The Committee on Resolutions was instructed to prepare an appropriate commendation for the Editor of the series of bulletins on the applications of sociology.
- (e) The Council expressed its enthusiastic support of the study of graduate training in sociology undertaken by the former Chairman of the Committee on Training and Professional Standards.
- (f) The President was requested to write a letter of thanks to Dr. John Darley and Mrs. Jane Hildreth of the American Psychological Association central office for their help in implementing the joint policies of the two associations in the matter of certification.
- (g) The report of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics was accepted and the recommendation that its membership be en-

larged to include representation from "problem" states was approved.

- (h) The Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education was thanked for its services and discharged since its functions are now to be transferred to the newly organized Section on the Sociology of Education.

Also referred to the new Section for report back to the Council was the issue of possible American Sociological Association affiliation with the Council for Research in Education.

- (i) Following a report from the Committee to Administer the Carnegie Travel Grant, the officers of the Association were authorized to apply to the Carnegie Corporation for a renewal of the grant.
- (j) Stimulated by the report of the Representative to the Social Science Research Council, the President was requested to write to the Secretary of Commerce commanding the Census Bureau for its activities in connection with the preparation of the Census of Population Monographs and the revision of *Historical Statistics in the United States*.
- (k) Following the report of the Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies it was announced that George Homans would deliver the key paper at the next American Council for Learned Societies meeting which is to be devoted to the nature of the relationship between the social sciences and the humanities.
- (l) Following the report of the Representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science it was announced that Vincent Whitney had been appointed to arrange the sessions for the next meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and that suggestions for topics would be welcomed.
- (m) The Representative to the Council of Census Users was thanked for his services and, in view of the dissolution of this Council, relieved of further responsibility in this regard.
- (n) Various annual meeting program scheduling problems, such as preferred days of week, length of meetings, were referred to the 1961 Program Committee for study.

The meeting was declared adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
DONALD R. YOUNG, *Secretary*

Second New York Meeting of the 1960 Council
August 29, 1960

The second meeting of the 1960 Council was called to order at 4:30 p.m. by Vice-President Wilbert Moore. The following members of the 1960 Council were present: Reinhard Bendix, John Clausen, W. Fred Cottrell,¹ Robert Faris, William Goode, George Homans, Rex Hopper, Seymour Lipset, Walter Martin, Wilbert Moore, Charles Page, John Riley, William Sewell,

Marion Smith, Ralph Turner, Frank Westie, Robin Williams, Donald Young, and Matilda Riley, *ex officio*. Present from the 1961 Council were: Harry Alpert, Walter Firey, William Kolb, Paul Lazarsfeld, Talcott Parsons, Harold Saunders, and Rupert Vance. In addition the following Section and Committee Chairmen were present: August Hollingshead, Albert Reiss, and Guy Swanson. Also present was Janice Harris, Administrative Officer.

1. Two distinguished guests were introduced to the Council: Professor Leopold von Wiese, President of the German Sociological Association; and Professor Pierre de Bie, Secretary of the International Sociological Association.

2. The revised draft of certification requirements and procedures for social psychologists, as submitted by the Committee on the Profession and appended to these Minutes, was approved with minor editorial changes and the Section on Social Psychology was authorized to proceed with the certification process up to the point of actual granting of certificates. Meanwhile, the Association will take whatever legal steps may be necessary.

3. The Chairman of the Committee on the Mac-Iver Award announced that no award would be recommended this year.

4. John Clausen, Chairman of the Section on Social Psychology, announced that the Section at its August 28, 1960 meeting voted that eligibility for Section membership would depend upon:

- voting membership in the American Sociological Association, and
- commitment to the field of social psychology as evidenced by application for membership.

5. August Hollingshead, Chairman of the Section on Medical Sociology, announced that the following actions were taken at the August 28, 1960 New York meeting of this Section:

- plans were made for annual meeting program coordination, and
- eligibility for Section membership of all categories of American Sociological Association members was reaffirmed.

6. Albert Reiss, Chairman of the Section on Methodology, reported that this Section made no change in its membership criteria (that is, voting membership in the American Sociological Association), and also that the Section seeks Council permission to investigate the possibility of establishing a special journal devoted to method. The Council encouraged the Section Publications Committee to prepare for the Association Publications Committee a proposal explaining the nature, justification and cost of such a journal. It was noted that, at present, journals are published by the Association proper, rather than by Sections.

7. The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions read the memorial minutes on Presidents Becker, Gillin, and Stouffer; and these will be presented to the Association at its first Business Meeting. Additional resolutions for the second Business Meeting were accepted in principle.

8. Rex Hopper announced that the registration to date was 1,186.

The meeting adjourned at 5:45 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
DONALD R. YOUNG, *Secretary*

Certification Requirements and Procedures for Social Psychologists for Advance Study Prior to Discussion at Council Meetings.

I. A Preamble and Rationale of Certification

A. Definition of the range and scope covered by social psychology.

Social psychology is a broad and inclusive area of activities that has been shared by the academic professions of sociology and psychology. Traditionally, the titles of these disciplines have referred to intellectual and academic endeavors, and thus the scope of the fields involved has not been defined with great specificity. By way of illustration rather than definition, academic subjects that have been included in the field of social psychology by sociologists have covered such titles as: interpersonal relations, socialization, role theory, personality, personality and social structure, social perception, the family, social interaction, small group analysis, opinion and attitude formation and change, culture and personality, industrial relations, inter-group relations, and mass media and mass communication. In the long tradition of sociological interest it should be noted that the first modern textbook coverage of social psychology was by Charles Horton Cooley in his volume *Human Nature and the Social Order*, published in 1902. Moreover, the first textbooks bearing the title *Social Psychology* were by the sociologist, Edward A. Ross, and the psychologist, William McDougall, both texts being published in 1908. Thus, social psychology as a broad and inclusive area of scientific inquiry has been, and continues to be, a major concern of sociologists.

B. Rationale for certification of social psychologists.

The American Sociological Association has gone on record as disapproving in principle the restrictive certification (especially by law) of any title that describes or identifies an area of scientific

or intellectual inquiry. On the other hand, it recognizes the need to protect the public by providing a means of identifying properly qualified persons who represent themselves as experts, consultants, or practitioners with regard to these areas of scientific inquiry. Since it sometimes occurs that individuals and organizations are not in a position to evaluate qualifications, and since, in some cases, qualifications that are presented are difficult to evaluate, it seems desirable to provide a means by which, on a *voluntary* basis, persons who satisfy high standards in training, experience, and demonstrated competence in social psychology may be identified through certification. Such certification is an aid to the public in finding reliable and qualified persons.

C. The voluntary basis for certification.

Certification under the provisions of this statement provides an affirmative identification for persons who are qualified as social psychologists and wish to be so identified to facilitate public recognition. It is not intended to restrict the use of the title by persons who are not certified. Similarly, it is not intended to imply that persons who are not certified under the provisions of this statement are not qualified to provide services under the title of social psychologist.

II. Certification Standards

A. Minimum training required.

The training of certified social psychologists shall be at minimum a Ph.D. degree from an accredited institution. The record of training of the applicant shall include a substantial portion of courses central to the field of social psychology, and the applicant should have social psychology as one of the areas of specialty in the preparation for the degree. In recognition of the fact that a Ph.D. degree specifies a level of academic competence and that, having reached this level, the scholar may continue his education informally, and, further, in recognition of the interdependence and free exchange among scientific disciplines, in cases of training that deviates from the traditional patterns of social psychology, the requirements for training shall be judged in conjunction with the subsequent career pattern of the applicant. Similarly, in the case of persons who have distin-

guished careers as social psychologists who have not in their training completed the Ph.D. degree, an examining committee may, at its own initiative, recommend waiving this requirement (see below III-B-4).

B. Minimum experience.

The applicant shall present evidence that he has had at least two years of experience as a social psychologist since the granting of the Ph.D. degree. In general, relevant experience shall be counted as research on problems of a social psychological nature, consultation, or providing of other services to the public in areas of central relevance to social psychology. Experience, in order to be counted toward this requirement, must be obtained under competent supervision or, if done individually, at a level of professional responsibility judged appropriate by the Examining Committee (see Sec. III-A).

C. Demonstrated competence.

The applicant shall present evidence of demonstrated competence above and beyond the requirements of the Ph.D. degree. In general, such evidence shall be demonstrable through published works, technical reports, and other professional activities as these reflect knowledge of the field, mastery of research techniques, and proper regard for available evidence and for alternative formulations in drawing inferences and generalizations or in the application of knowledge to practice.

III. Certification Procedures

A. Examining Committee.

1. *Composition:* The Examining Committee shall be constituted from a panel of qualified social psychologists who shall be appointed for the purpose of examining the credentials of persons applying for certification. An examining committee shall consist of five members and shall meet at least once a year, according to the need and demand for certification. Three members shall constitute a quorum for the examining of credentials and recommendation for or against certification.

2. *Authority:* The Examining Committee shall be appointed by the Council of the Section on Social Psychology. The duration of office for members of the panel from which the examining com-

mittees are constituted shall be for three years, with staggered expiration dates. At the direction of the Council of the Section on Social Psychology, such other administrative structures will be formed within the panel as are deemed necessary for efficient operation.

B. Examining procedures.

1. *Examining credentials:* The Committee shall examine the credentials of the applicant and by majority vote either approve or disapprove the credentials for certification, provided that the majority exceed the minority by at least two. In the event that there is not unanimous approval, the committee may, at any time, prepare or have prepared a written examination to provide additional evidence of satisfying the requirements of the profession.
2. *Routine examinations:* If the need and the demand of certification continue to grow, the Council of the Section on Social Psychology may direct that routine examinations be instituted in order to facilitate assessment of the qualifications of applicants.
3. *Review of negative decisions:* An applicant who is not approved for certification may reapply to have credentials reexamined in the following year without paying additional fees. The period within which an application must be processed, including any reapplication, is at maximum three years. In the event that the applicant does not become certified, he will be permitted to reapply again after this period only by permitting two years to elapse since the last decision received, and by instituting a new application. Such a new application will be considered without prejudice.
4. *Waiver of requirements:* Persons who do not meet the primary training requirement may institute an application for certification. Waiver of this requirement may be recommended by the Examining Committee to the Council of the Section on Social Psychology. The Committee will recommend waiver of the training requirement only if the experience and competence of the applicant are of such

high quality as to leave no doubt as to his qualification.

5. *Certification:* When the credentials of the applicant have been unanimously approved by an examining committee, certification shall be recommended to the Council of the Section on Social Psychology. The recommendations of the examining committee shall be reviewed by the Council of the Section on Social Psychology, and on approval the Council shall vote certification of the applicant.

C. Application Fees.

1. *Fee:* The fee for application shall be set by the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Association to provide an equitable support by the applicants of the examining procedures. Initially, pending experience with these procedures, the fee for application shall not exceed \$50. The fees collected shall be allocated directly to the treasury of the American Sociological Association and it is represented that they shall contribute to the support of the expenses of the certification procedures, including payment for the examiners, the certificate, and other ordinary expenses.

IV. Certificate and Register

A. Register.

Each year the secretary of the Section on Social Psychology shall have reproduced in permanent form a cumulative register of persons certified by the Section on Social Psychology of the American Sociological Association. The register will have an alphabetical listing by states.

B. Certificate.

A certificate shall be awarded to each applicant who has been approved for certification by the Council of the Section on Social Psychology on condition that he explicitly assent to the statement on Ethical Standards, immediately below. To be currently valid a certificate must be accompanied by a card indicating current membership in the Section on Social Psychology.

A certified social psychologist may identify his status in ordinary professional manner, the recommended form being the direct statement of fact: Social

Psychologist, Certified by the Section on Social Psychology, American Sociological Association.

V. Ethical Standards

A. Brief Specification of Ethical Standards.

Social psychologists certified by the Section on Social Psychology shall as members of the American Sociological Association, maintain the high ethical standards of the profession in their applied activities with individuals and organizations, as in their scholarly and scientific activities. They are committed to a belief in the dignity and worth of the individual, and they respect the integrity of the individuals and organizations who are their clients and their subjects. They do not knowingly permit their services to be used by others for purposes inconsistent with the ethical standards of their profession.

As a field, social psychology seeks to increase knowledge about man and his behavior in society, and thereby to contribute to the welfare of the society. In offering services directly to the public, social psychologists undertake the individual responsibility of practicing professionals. In this respect, the ethical standards of the social psychologist who offers his services to the public must be defined to give primacy to the needs and welfare of the client so long as they do not violate the rights and integrity of other individuals or organizations and are consistent with high ethical principles.

In order to maintain high ethical standards, the social psychologist shall be responsible for maintaining high standards of professional competence, for recognizing the limits of his competence and for representing his competence and his profession as accurately as possible in all dealings with clients and with the general public. In offering services to the public, the social psychologist is required first to assess whether he is qualified by way of training and experience to render the class of services that is needed. He is not only responsible for representing accurately his professional qualifications and his affiliations, but he is responsible for correcting others who may misrepresent these qualifications or affiliations.

As a scientist, committed to increasing valid knowledge of behavior, the social psychologist works toward the development of systematic and objective re-

search procedures, designing his research in such a way as to minimize the possibility that findings will be misleading, interpreting findings so as to make clear the limits of their generalizability, and fully reporting data which might modify the interpretation of research results.

In general, the social psychologist shall not only value the development of techniques and procedures that increase the objectiveness and validity of research operations, but shall also be committed to the dissemination of such knowledge to the profession and to the general public.

The social psychologist is committed to preserving the confidentiality of information obtained in the course of his professional activities, respecting the integrity and the confidence of the individual respondent or organization, whether subject or client. The social psychologist has an explicit understanding with his subjects and his clients as to the kinds of communication of information to other parties that are acceptable, and he abides by this understanding.

Recognizing that not all contingencies or aspects of ethical practice can be adequately described, especially in the early stages of an effort to establish a code of ethics, the certified social psychologist shall be responsible for assessing carefully the ethical implications of any research or consultation and shall bring to the attention of the Council of the Section on Social Psychology issues or critical incidents which he believes may be useful in helping to further the development and maintenance of a high code of professional ethics within the Section. In this endeavor the Section on Social Psychology will work collaboratively with the Association Committee on Professional Ethics.

B. Procedures for registering and prosecuting complaints of unethical practices.

1. *Relevance of complaint:* Complaints on violations of ethical standards of social psychologists shall be brought to the Council of the Section on Social Psychology. A copy of the complaint shall be made available to each of the members of the Council and to the person or persons named in the complaint. The Council will examine the complaint and make a decision on whether or not the complaint falls

within the scope of unethical practice as a social psychologist under the definition of the certificate. If the finding is that the complaint is not within the scope of relevance for the profession, the finding shall be communicated to the complainant as well as to the person or persons named in the complaint. If the complainant reenters the complaint after the findings reported by the Council of the Section are made available to him, the complaint with the findings and any additional supporting material presented by the complainant shall be brought before the Council of the American Sociological Association for review.

2. *Investigation of complaints:* If the Council of the Section on Social Psychology determines the complaint to be relevant for examination, they will request the Examining Committee of the Section to investigate the complaint. The Examining Committee will examine the complaint and investigate it thoroughly. Its findings will be reported to the Council of the Section.

3. *Sanctions:* The action that may be taken by the Council of the Section on Social Psychology shall include voiding the charges, reprimand and warning, voiding the certificate awarded, expulsion from the Section, and recommendation to the Council of the American Sociological Association for expulsion from the Association. In a case where the situation is one that can be corrected through information or through advice, such shall be communicated by the Council directly to the person named in the complaint.

4. *Protection of the defendant:* In the case that charges are placed against a certified social psychologist under the definition of this statement, the defendant shall have free access to the charges and the evidence placed against him by the complainant and witnesses to answer the complaint being considered by the Examining Committee or Council. He may carry an appeal from decisions of the Section's Council to the Council of the American Sociological Association. The Council of the American Sociological Association may, on appeal from the defendant, void, modify, or affirm a decision of the Section's Council.

5. *Voiding certificate:* A person who accepts the award of a certificate as social psychologist from the Section on Social Psychology accepts the judgment of his peers in regard to his competence. In accepting the certificate, he explicitly agrees to accept the judgment of his peers concerning violations of ethical standards in any adjudication that has undergone orderly procedures according to this statement. In the event that the certificate awarded to him is voided by the Section on Social Psychology, he explicitly agrees to return such certificate to the Section on Social Psychology. The name of a person whose certificate has been voided shall be removed from the register. If the certificate is not promptly returned, the name and the action voiding the certificate shall be prominently printed in subsequent registers.

C. Cumulative case record for building an ethical guide for the profession.

An abstract of charges and proceedings for each case brought to the attention of the Section on Social Psychology as a possible violation of the ethical standards of social psychologists shall be prepared. The abstracts shall be accumulated and will constitute in time a guide for judging the limits of ethical practice in the profession. Abstracts shall be prepared without identification of the person making the complaint or of the person named in the complaint. Availability of abstracts shall be unrestricted and as the Committee on Professional Affairs sees fit a compilation of the abstracts or a review of findings in the abstracts shall be prepared and made generally available.

Meeting of the 1961 Council, August 31, 1960

The first meeting of the 1961 Council was called to order by President Faris at 4:45 p.m. The following members were present: Harry Alpert, Reinhard Bendix, Robert Faris, Walter Firey, William Goode, George Homans, Rex Hopper, William Kolb, Paul Lazarsfeld, Charles Loomis, Walter Martin, Wilbert Moore, Talcott Parsons, John Riley, Harold Saunders, William Sewell, Ralph Turner, Rupert Vance, Frank Westie, and Robert Bierstedt, *ex officio*. Also present were Janice Harris, Administrative Officer, Donald Young, and Matilda Riley.

1. The resolution concerning statistical information on race, offered by Thomas Monahan from the floor of the first Business Meeting, was adopted as amended and will, therefore, be recommended by the Council to the membership at the second Business Meeting.
2. Nominations for Council elections to membership in Association committees were proposed by the Committee on Committees, Harry Alpert, Chairman. The following persons were elected to the posts indicated:

Executive Committee: William Kolb and Ralph Turner.

Associate Editors of the Review: James Short, Richard Morris, Winston Ehrmann, David Gold, and Mary Goss.

Associate Editors of Sociometry: James Coleman, Robert Winch, and William Scott.

Committee on Budget and Investment: Wilbert Moore.

Classification Committee: Bernard Barber.

1962 Program Committee: William Goode, Harold Wilensky, and Seymour Lipset, *ex officio* as liaison with the International Sociological Association Program Committee. The Council authorized the President-Elect to appoint additional members if circumstances require.

Committees on Training and Professional Standards: For a term of one year, Alex Inkeles; for terms of three years, Albert Cohen and Walter Martin.

Director, Social Science Research Council: John Clausen.

Representative to the American Public Health Association Committee on Behavioral Sciences in Public Health: Jerome Myers.

3. The President was authorized to appoint the chairmen of all committees.
4. The Council approved the President's appointments to the following *ad hoc* committees:

Selection Committee on the MacIver Award: Leonard Broom, Everett Hughes, and David Riesman.

Committee on Social Statistics: Leo Schnore, Chairman, Theodore Anderson, Robert Burnight, John Kantner, Nathan Keyfitz, Leslie Kish, Gerhard Lenski, William Robinson, and Frederick Stephan.

Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries: Rex Hopper, Chairman, Daniel Bell, Reinhard Bendix, Monroe Berger, Alex Inkeles, Otto Larsen, Seymour Lipset, Irwin Sanders, Francis Sutton, and Ruth Useem.

Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics: Charles Bowerman, Chairman, Robert Blood, G. Franklin Edwards, Winston Ehrmann, William Goode, Reuben Hill, Paul Jacobson, William Kephart, Judson Landis, Eugene Litwak, Daniel Price, Norman Ryder, Lyda Gordon Shivers, and

John Sirjamaki. The President authorized the Chairman to appoint members in the states not in the Divorce Registration area.

Committee on Organization and Plans: Donald Young, Chairman, Kingsley Davis, Wilbert Moore, Talcott Parsons, John Riley, Elbridge Sibley, and Guy Swanson.

Committee on Legislation and Certification: Irwin Sanders, Chairman. Others to be appointed.

Committee on Sociologists in the Federal Government: Conrad Taeuber, Chairman, Hugh Carter, Margaret Jarman Hagood, Charles Hutchinson, Ward Mason, Paul Myers, and Henry Riecken.

Committee on Professional Ethics: Robert Angell, Chairman. Others to be appointed.

5. Council authorized the *ad hoc* committee appointed by the 1960 Council to report any findings pertaining to the three resolutions on the various aspects of the certification problem received from the Ohio Valley Sociological Society to the first meeting of the Executive Committee.
6. Council voted to refer a problem case presented to it by a Council member to the Committee on Professional Ethics.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS, Secretary

Minutes of the Business Meetings of the Association

The first New York Business Meeting was called to order August 30, 1960, at 11:00 a.m., by Vice-President Wilbert Moore.

1. The following memorial minutes were read by Robin Williams, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee:

The American Sociological Association with deep sorrow takes note of the deaths of three distinguished Past-Presidents of the Association, Professor Howard Becker (1899-1960), and Professor John L. Gillin (1871-1958), and Professor Samuel A. Stouffer (1900-1960), and thus invokes the memory of three significant careers dedicated to creative teaching and research in sociology, to scholarship, academic leadership, and civic responsibility;

Howard Becker's eminence and proficiency as teacher and scholar; his distinguished accomplishments as editor, academic administrator, and wartime public servant, as well as his breadth of theoretical interest and contributions; his dedication to field work; his humanistic interests; and finally his leadership as President of the American Sociological Association in 1959-1960;

John L. Gillin's service of almost half a century at the University of Wisconsin; his substantive contributions to sociological theory, especially in the realms of criminology and penol-

ogy; his abiding interest in Wisconsin community programs; his contribution to the training of hundreds of students; and finally his leadership as President of the American Sociological Society in 1926-1927;

Samuel A. Stouffer's devotion to the development of a genuine science of the study of human behavior; his great contributions to research in such salient fields as population analysis, race relations, military organization, and political attitudes; his devoted teaching career at Wisconsin, Chicago, and Harvard; his contributions as adviser and consultant to a wide variety of agencies; and finally as President of the American Sociological Society in 1952-1953;

Be it resolved that the American Sociological Association expresses its appreciation of the roles of these three colleagues in the advancement of sociology as a science and as a profession, and pays tribute to their memories at this, the Fifty-fifth meeting of the Association, meeting in New York City;

Be it further resolved that copies of this Memorial Minute be sent to such persons and institutions as the Secretary of the Association may deem appropriate.

2. The Minutes of the New York meetings of the 1960 Council on August 28 and 29 were read by the Secretary.
3. The membership of the 1960 Committee on Resolutions was announced: Robin Williams, Chairman; Harry Alpert and Harold Pfautz.
4. The membership of the 1961 Committee on Nominations and Elections was announced as follows: Robert Merton, Chairman; Alan Bates; Peter Blau; Donald Cressey; Richard Dewey; Walter Firey; Noel Gist; William Goode; Lewis Killian; Morton King; Walter Martin; John Mueller; Harold Pfautz; Aileen Ross; and Walter Watson.
5. Vice-President Wilbert Moore announced there would be discussion at the Business Meeting on August 31 of questions concerning the structure of the Association and the relationship of Sections to that structure.
6. Elbridge Sibley outlined the plans for his study of graduate training, and urged that all persons receiving questionnaires complete and return them promptly.
7. Kimball Young requested gifts of books for a library in memory of Erle Fiske Young in the newly established University of Bar-Ilan in Ramat Gan, Israel.
8. Earl Huyck announced that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has made available a number of publications on health, education, and welfare programs.
9. Rex Hopper called attention to the availability of representatives from the New York State Professional Placement Center of the New York State Employment Service at these meetings. He also reported registration as of the evening of August 29 to be 1,819.
10. Thomas Monahan proposed a resolution con-

cerning statistics of race and religion. The Chairman referred it to the Committee on Resolutions.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon.

Respectfully submitted,
DONALD R. YOUNG, *Secretary*

The second New York Business Meeting of the Association was called to order on August 31, 1960, at 11:00 a.m. by Vice-President Wilbert Moore.

1. The Minutes of the first Business Meeting were read by the Secretary.
2. The Minutes of the New York meeting of the 1961 Council were read by the Secretary-Elect for the information of the membership, prior to final revision and approval of the Minutes by the incoming Council.
3. The following resolutions as proposed by the Resolutions Committee were accepted:

(a) Whereas, the American Sociological Association recognizes the scientific value of race or color as a statistical item in the compilation and analysis of social data in the fields of population and housing, vital and health statistics, marriage and divorce data, police, welfare, and educational fields, and in other areas;

Be it resolved the American Sociological Association therefore favors the retention and inclusion of such an item in all broadly designed statistical inquiries, with due provisions being made to protect the rights of the individual.

(b) Whereas the American Sociological Association recognizes that the success of its Fifty-fifth Annual Meetings is in large part due to the untiring and efficient efforts of the Conference Committee;

Be it resolved that the Association expresses to the Conference Committee of 1960, and particularly to the Chairman of the Committee, Professor Rex D. Hopper, and to Theodore F. Abel, Ray Abrams, Abraham Blumberg, Arvid Brodersen, Robert O. Carlson, Leo P. Chall, Leland C. De Vinney, John and Sylvia Fava, Nelson N. Foote, Irving Goldaber, Harold S. Goldblatt, Ruth Granick, Richard S. Halpern, Janice W. Harris, Herbert H. Hyman, Carla Joye, Kurt and Gladys Lang, Herman Lantz, Alfred McClung Lee, Michael Lewis, Marilyn Marc, S. M. Miller, Leonard D. Savitz, Henry Seligson, Clarence and Sylvia Sherwood, David L. and Yole G. Sills, Albert D. Ullman, Arno Winard, and Charles Winick, its appreciation for the superb manner in which the Committee has successfully completed its difficult tasks.

(c) Whereas the American Sociological Association recognizes that much of its recent growth in service, in its stature among other professional societies and associations, as well as in

the efficiencies of its operation are due to the efforts of its retiring Executive Officer, Whereas the Executive Officer has combined intelligence, wit, dedication, and charm in the execution of her duties,

Be it resolved that the Association expresses its heartfelt appreciation to Matilda White Riley for her devoted, untiring, and expeditious service in the interests of the Association; Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to Professor Riley.

(d) Be it resolved that the American Sociological Association expresses its sincere appreciation to Professor Charles H. Page for his distinguished and discriminating service as Editor of the Association's official journal, the *American Sociological Review*, during the period 1957-1960;

Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to Professor Page.

(e) Be it resolved that the American Sociological Association expresses its appreciation to Dr. Donald R. Young for his outstanding dedication to American sociology in numerous capacities over the years, for his contributions as a devoted and astute advisor to the officers of the Association, and for his invaluable services to the Association as Past-President and as Secretary 1958-1960.

(f) Be it resolved that the American Sociological Association expresses its appreciation to the Russell Sage Foundation for its leadership and support in the preparation and publication of the Bulletin Series on Fields of Application of Sociology, and to Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. of the staff of the Foundation for his continuing editorship of this Bulletin Series; Be it further resolved that the Association expresses its appreciation to the Foundation for its support of the current study of graduate training in sociology being conducted by Dr. Elbridge Sibley.

(g) Whereas the American Sociological Association has enjoyed excellent accommodations and services at its Fifty-fifth Annual Meetings,

Be it resolved that the Association expresses to Mr. Roger Coleman of the Statler Hilton Hotel Sales Department and his staff, Mr. Bruce Ender, Banquet Manager; Mr. Leslie Gummay, Assistant Banquet Manager and their staff its deep appreciation for the courteous and effective service it has received; Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to Messrs. Coleman, Ender, and Gummay.

(h) Be it resolved that the American Sociological Association expresses its sincere appreciation to the University of Oregon for the hospitality and consideration it has invested in the form of space, equipment, and staff time, in the editorial offices of the Association's official journal, the *American Sociological Review*;

Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to Dr. William C. Jones, Acting President, University of Oregon.

(i) Be it resolved that the American Sociological Association expresses its appreciation to the New York State Professional Placement Center of the New York State Employment Service, and especially to Mr. Samuel Berger for their exceedingly fine services during the Annual Meetings;

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the New York State Employment Service and to Mr. Berger.

4. Vice-President Moore led a discussion of the structure of the Association and the relationship of Sections to that structure. A number of suggestions were made from the floor with particular regard to the place of Sections' programs in the Association's annual meeting program.

5. It was announced that the registration finally reached 1,976, the largest registration ever recorded at these meetings.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon.

Respectfully submitted,
DONALD R. YOUNG, *Secretary*

Report of the Secretary

I. INTERIM ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE MEMBERSHIP, THE COUNCIL, AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1959-1960

The Council approved by mail ballot the minutes of its Chicago meetings, and these are published in the December, 1959 *Review*.

Death of the President

News was received of the sudden death of President Howard Becker on June 8, 1960. In accordance with the Constitution, his duties were assumed by Wilbert Moore as Vice-President.

Editorship of the American Sociological Review

Harry Alpert was elected Editor of the *American Sociological Review* by vote of the Council and the Committee on Publications. He will take office at the close of the 1960 annual meetings.

Other Changes in Administration

The resignation of Matilda Riley as Executive Officer was accepted with regret, but with gratitude for her services.

In view of the resignation of the Executive Officer and the expiration of the term of office of Donald Young as Secretary, a sub-committee (composed of Wilbert Moore, John Riley, and

Donald Young, with the assistance of the Executive Officer) was appointed by the Executive Committee to explore the future administrative problems of the Association. This sub-committee was instructed to define with a considerable degree of flexibility the various administrative roles which may need to be filled.

After review of the Association's expanding program, this sub-committee agreed that there were three distinct sets of functions now performed by the Secretary and the Executive Officer:

- 1) Guidance of policy and provision of continuity in the affairs of the Association;
- 2) Maintenance of liaison between the Executive Office and the membership, and the key Committees;
- 3) Management of internal operations, including business supervision of the Association, management of the journals, maintenance and supervision of the Executive Office staff, and oversight of the preparation of various publications (programs, directories, employment bulletins, and the like).

Following their proposals and the recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Council, acting under the existing Constitution and By-Laws, elected Talcott Parsons as the new Secretary, to perform function (1); and Robert Bierstedt as the new Executive Officer, charged with function (2). In order to take care of function (3), the Executive Committee elected Janice Harris as a new full-time appointee, starting in June, 1960, with the title "Administrative Officer."

Location of the Association's Offices

In agreement with the recommendation of the Sub-committee on Sociology in the Federal Government of the Committee on the Profession, the Executive Committee voted that the central office should remain in New York but that arrangements should be made as early as practicable for high-level Washington representation. The Committee expressed warm appreciation to New York University for its hospitality and to the office staff for its competent and loyal services.

Fiscal

Following the recommendation of the Budget Committee, the 1960 budget was approved by the Council, as published in the August *Review*.

Under the discretionary power delegated by the Council, the Executive Committee approved a plan to allow foreign members who are resid-

ing abroad, the option of paying a special dues rate of eight dollars as Associate members of the Association.

Grants

The Russell Sage Foundation has provided funds for the study of graduate education in sociology, to be undertaken by Elbridge Sibley.

The Association has received from the Asia Foundation a further grant of 2,500 dollars for the purpose of encouraging closer relations between Asian and American sociologists.

Committees and Representatives

The Executive Committee took the following actions:

1960 Conference Committee—the slate as prepared by Rex Hopper was approved and the Chairman empowered to make additions and changes as needed.

1961 Conference Committee—Alvin Gouldner and Clement Mihanovich were elected Co-Chairmen.

Sub-Committee on Professional Ethics—Appointment of this committee was approved as recommended by the Committee on the Profession.

Committee on Research—The sum of 1,000 dollars was appropriated for an evaluation project provided that the balance required by the project would be supplied by one of the foundations. It was further voted that a full report from the Committee be submitted to the Council, which will then decide how much of the report will be published as part of the Official Proceedings.

National Association of Social Workers—The President is authorized to join with the appropriate officer of the NASW in appointing an individual to serve both organizations in a liaison capacity. In the meantime, the Secretary was asked to write an appropriate letter to the NASW endorsing Joseph Eaton as the present incumbent.

1960 meeting of the Société Internationale Criminologie—Marshall Clinard was chosen as the official delegate from the American Sociological Association.

Council for Research in Education—The question of the Association's possible affiliation with the Council was tabled.

Committee on Translating and Abstracting Scientific Publications in Foreign Languages—Robert Bower was appointed Chairman and is in process of organizing a Committee.

Sections of the Association

The Council voted to accept petitions for two new Sections, one on Criminology, and another on the Sociology of Education. In both cases

the Executive Committee had approved requests to poll the membership, and the requisite number of signatures (at least 200) had been secured.

The Executive Committee ruled, following a recommendation of the Committee on the Profession, that the original nominating committee of each new Section is to be appointed by the President, so as to assure representation of the field as a whole as well as of the informal organizing group.

The Executive Committee laid on the table, pending recommendations from the Committee on the Profession, an application for a Section on Assumptions, Axioms, and Postulates in Sociological Theory.

Since numerous policy questions have arisen in regard to Sections, the Executive Committee asked the Committee on the Profession to study these matters on a continuing basis and to make recommendations to the Council.

Publications

The following actions were taken by the Executive Committee and the Council:

Index to the Review—A budget of 350 dollars was set up for clerical assistance and expense for the 1960 revision of the *Index*.

Membership Directory and Address Lists—Because of the high cost of the address list proposed as an interim supplement to the Directory of Members, it was decided not to issue this list until 1961. A new Directory is to be published in 1963.

Bulletins of Fields of Application—The following new bulletins were approved:

Sociology and the Field of Religion, to be prepared by Samuel W. Blizzard, with an Advisory Committee of James L. Adams, Joseph H. Fichter, Charles Glock, William Kolb, Elizabeth Nottingham, Talcott Parsons, Marshall Sklare, Guy E. Swanson, and Milton Yinger.

Industrial Sociology, to be prepared by Henry Landsberger, with an Advisory Committee of Reinhard Bendix, Robert Dubin, Nelson Foote, William Form, Alvin W. Gouldner, Floyd Mann, Delbert Miller, S. M. Miller, Wilbert Moore, William Whyte, and Harold Wilensky.

Sociology and Law, to be prepared by William Evan.

Sociology and Corporate Management, with the author not yet designated.

Educational Sociology—Following the instruction of the Executive Committee, the Chairman of the Publications Committee appointed Kingsley Davis to chair a committee to investigate the feasibility of obtaining a subsidy for the publication of a Journal in this field.

The American Sociologist—the inauguration of

this publication was postponed until the new administration of the Association is in office, at which time its feasibility will be reexamined.

Certification of Social Psychologists

In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee on the Profession, the Executive Committee asked the President to communicate with the Presidents and Council Representatives of the Affiliated Societies about developments in regard to the certification of social psychologists. The American Sociological Association has accepted responsibility in this matter, has entered into a basic agreement with the American Psychological Association as published in the *Review*, June 1959, p. 402, is working out details of a plan for certification of sociologically trained social psychologists, and is working on specific legislative problems at both the national and the state levels. The Committee believes that, in the interests of the profession as a whole, it is important that sociologists understand the implications and importance of these negotiations and agreements. This matter will be discussed by the President at the luncheon for officers of affiliated societies at the time of the annual meetings.

Civil Service Series

In line with the recommendation of the Executive Committee and the Committee on the Profession, the President wrote a strong letter to the U. S. Civil Service Commission in support of a ruling that a social psychologist with a Ph.D. in Sociology be recognized as qualifying for the title of Social Psychologist in the psychology series.

II. ELECTIONS

The Committee on Nominations and Elections for 1960 reported the results of the balloting and it is hereby incorporated in the record as follows:

President-Elect:	Paul F. Lazarsfeld
Vice-President-Elect:	William H. Sewell
Committee on Publications:	Theodore Caplow
Council:	Donald R. Cressey
	Reuben L. Hill
	William L. Kolb
	Melvin Tumin

III. MEMORIAL RECORD

Since our adjournment in Chicago last September, 25 of our colleagues and friends in the Association have been removed from our rolls by death. It is the Secretary's grievous duty to record the deaths of the following members:

Howard Paul Becker	Howard W. Green
Louis H. Blumenthal	George E. Haynes
James H. S. Bossard	Samuel Joseph
Mrs. C. Gartrell Chivers	Jacob Katz
James E. Cutler	William Kirk
Robert H. Dann	Samuel H. Leger
John P. Dean	Julius B. Maller
Frederick G. Detweiler	Curtis H. Morrow
Earl W. Douglas	Michael S. Olmsted
G. I. DuPrat	George S. H. Rossouw
Mrs. Richard T. Ford	Harry B. Sell
Harlan W. Gilmore	Edward A. Taylor
	Gregory Zilborg

IV. SPECIAL SERVICES

To the following members who have performed valuable services in a wide range of representation roles during the year, the thanks of the Association have been expressed:

Howell Atwood—Inauguration of Arthur Lewis Knoblauch as President of Western Illinois University, Macomb, Illinois
James H. Barnett—to serve on the Fellowship Selection Committee of the General Electric Foundation
John W. Berry—Inauguration of Miller Alfred Franklin Ritchie as President of Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon
Gordon W. Blackwell—Inauguration of Wendell Melton Patton as President of High Point College, High Point, North Carolina
Donald H. Bouma—Inauguration of Judson Foust as President of Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan
Neal B. DeNood—Inauguration of Thomas Corwin Mendenhall as President of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts
George A. Douglas—Inauguration of Leo Warren Jenkins as President of East Carolina College, Greenville, North Carolina
Burton Fisher—Memorial Service for President Howard Becker, Madison, Wisconsin
Hugh W. Ghormley—Inauguration of Mahlon A. Miller as President of Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky
Bernard J. Gorow—Inauguration of Donald Ezell Walker as President of Idaho State College, Pocatello, Idaho
Paul M. Gustafson—Inauguration of Harvey Mitchell Rice as President of Macalester College, Saint Paul, Minnesota
George H. Huganir—Inauguration of Millard Elwood Gladfelter as President of Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
George H. Huganir and Vincent Whitney—64th Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on "Whither American Foreign Policy?" Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
John James—Inauguration of Bransford Price Millar as President of Portland State College, Portland, Oregon
Herman J. Kloepfer—Inauguration of Andrew

David Holt as President of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee

Clement S. Mihanovich—Dedication Ceremonies for the Pius XII Memorial Library at Saint Louis University, Saint Louis, Missouri

Morton Rubin—Inauguration of Asa Smalldige Knowles as President of Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts

Dorothy L. Ross—Inauguration of Charles Shepard Davis as President of Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina

Ray E. Short—Inauguration of Ralph Wilson Mohney as President of Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens, Tennessee

Richard M. Stephenson—Meeting of the research sub-committee of the National Refugee Committee

Margaret W. Vine—Inauguration of William Spencer Litterick as President of Keuka College, Keuka Park, New York

Respectfully submitted,
DONALD YOUNG, *Secretary*

Report of the Executive Officer 1950-1960

In the August, 1950, issue of the *Review*, there was published a full report of the Reorganization Committee. This served as the initial mandate to the then newly constituted Executive Office. In this—my last report as Executive Officer—I should like to refer back to this original mandate, to review some of the changes which have occurred since the reorganization, and to point to certain future possibilities and problems.

A rereading of the 1950 Reorganization report recalls its two-fold objective of raising professional standards, and at the same time extending the benefits of membership to an increasing proportion of qualified persons. For example, we were then determined:

- to democratize the formulation of policy (substituting the mail ballot for haphazardly attended membership meetings, and expanding the former Executive Committee into a broadly representative Council);
- to enhance the effectiveness of leadership (delegating to the Council the general direction of affairs, creating an Executive Committee with continuing responsibility for the implementation of Council policies);
- to facilitate the management of affairs (providing a permanent national office and a part-time paid Executive Officer);
- to raise the criteria for Active membership gradually over time as sociological training improves;
- to work toward the more adequate utilization and placement of properly qualified sociological personnel;

TABLE A. GROWTH OF THE ASSOCIATION

Some Selected Trend Figures												
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	(est.)
<i>Indicators of Growth</i>	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Number of members	2,673	3,582	4,126	4,307	4,352	4,376	4,590	4,958	5,195	5,783	6,436	6,822
Non-member subscribers to <i>Review</i>	1,352	1,416	1,502	1,625	1,799	1,901	2,053	2,025	2,096	2,199	2,339	2,433
Number of copies of <i>Review</i> printed (per issue)	4,400	5,100	6,000	6,300	6,500	6,700	7,100	7,300	7,800	8,300	9,100	10,100
Number of <i>Sociometry</i> subscribers												
Number of other journal orders transmitted												
<i>Indicators of Rising Income</i>	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Total income	22,556	40,661	47,779	43,918	53,627	55,892	61,355	82,738 ¹	90,847	100,503	145,406	149,556
Special funds ²	—	6,000	4,250	1,000	—	750	1,700	800	829	3,309	7,974	3,987
Dues income	12,525	21,167 ³	25,749	26,253	33,495 ⁴	35,664	37,063	38,279	40,604	45,556	73,865 ⁵	78,296
Subscription income from <i>Review</i>	5,143	6,130 ⁶	7,169	7,716	9,417 ⁷	9,967	10,132	11,838 ⁸	15,601 ⁹	15,224	18,435	19,392
Advertising income from <i>Review</i>	3,358	4,203 ⁶	4,052	3,822	4,345	4,373	4,713	4,171	5,238 ⁸	6,221	7,304	7,304
Subscription income from <i>Sociometry</i> ³												
<i>Indicators of Rising Expenditures</i>												
Cost of printing and mailing <i>Review</i>	14,252	15,098	18,808	21,640 ⁸	20,960	23,749 ⁹	25,859	26,594	29,933	32,455	37,970	43,166 ⁹
Cost of printing and mailing <i>Sociometry</i> ⁸												
<i>Balance between Income and Expenditures</i>												
Net income	\$(-3,124)	\$1,551	\$2,254	\$(-137)	\$8,772	\$8,188	\$5,407	\$1,841	\$(-416)	\$(-3,715)	\$3,553	\$1,907

¹ Includes \$6,226 for subscriptions to other journals not previously treated as income.² From Carnegie, Russell Sage, Association reserves, Asia Foundation.³ Started in 1956.⁴ No records for earlier years.

- to strengthen the program of publications (issuing Directories of members, maintaining a clearing house of research in progress, inaugurating a new periodical to deal with standards of training and competence and the practice of sociology as profession); and
- to develop a wide range of new functions as opportunities arise.

Such were our concerns and goals ten years ago. A few items of contrast, together with the trend figures of Table A, suggest the kinds of changes which have taken place in the intervening years:

Membership. The benefits of membership have indeed been extended to more persons—6,800 today as contrasted with 2,700 in 1949. Moreover, the level of training has also risen: nearly half (47 per cent) of the non-student members report Ph.D.s in sociology in the 1959 Directory, in contrast to 40 per cent in the 1950 Directory. Only about one out of four applicants for Active membership is judged eligible for that status by the Classification Committee under present criteria.

Publications. In 1949, the Society issued two publications, the *Review* and the Annual Meeting Program. Since that time, *Sociometry* has been added, as the first of a possible series of journal publications in special fields. The current list also includes *Sociology Today*, the Index to the *Review*, the Membership Directory, the Program Abstracts, the listing of Current Research Projects, and a number of Bulletins on Fields of Application of Sociology. The Association now transmits some 3,000 orders for journals of other publishers, in contrast to a few hundred in earlier years. And the developing department of the *Review* on "The Profession" is ready to be transformed into a separate new journal, *The American Sociologist*, whenever the new administration decides.

Participation. As possible evidences of the sense of dedication with which the members devote themselves to the affairs of the Association, it seems noteworthy that the 1960 Annual Meeting Program contains over 300 papers, as compared with 77 in 1950; and that four official reports were available for publication following the 1950 meetings, as compared with 31 reports which have been filed for pre-printing this year. There are at present no less than 650 members of the Association's various committees and editorial boards!

Such trend indicators cannot measure any of the crucial changes which may have occurred in the quality of sociological production or the self-image of the profession itself. Yet it is my personal impression, on intuitive grounds, and from the peculiar vantage point of the Executive

Office, that sociology as one of the social sciences has gained in maturity during the past decade, and that it is being represented with increasing dignity and effectiveness by an Association with which the overwhelming majority of sociologists and sociologists-in-training wish to be identified.

As for the decade ahead, a range of problems (having to do with training standards, certification for practice, criteria for non-academic employment, and the like) will demand wisdom, patience, and hard work if they are to be effectively resolved. In particular, it is recommended that continuing study be given to the structural complexities entailed by the developing Sections of the Association, the regional and state representatives of several of the Committees, and the long-standing relationships with the affiliated societies. Yet, the Association's affairs are in good order, the Executive Office has an able and dedicated staff, and continuing leadership will be provided through the newly-defined offices of Secretary, Executive Officer, and Administrative Officer. There is every evidence that the same order of constructive solutions will be found to the problems of the sixties as we have been able to report for the issues charted by the Reorganization Committee of 1950.

Respectfully submitted,
MATILDA WHITE RILEY
Executive Officer

**Report of the Editor of the American
Sociological Review**

Table 1 displays a few facts about the *Review* under the outgoing editorship, presenting the journal's contents according to the inner format which has been in use since June, 1958. First, the persistent expansion of the journal's largest divisions—articles and research reports, book reviews, and professional matters—no doubt reflects in part the increase in the number of sociologists and of their research and (at times) literary endeavors. But this growth has taken place during a period when several other journals to which many sociologists contribute have become established; apparently the *Review* is holding its own. Second, almost the same allocation of space to the different divisions (indicated by the percentages) has held for the three years, representing perhaps overly staid editorial practice—not deliberate policy. Third, the relatively large number of books reviewed during 1960, the only "deviant" figure in the table, may suggest the desirability of greater selectivity than that of the present editors, who have viewed numerous marginal works as appropriate grist for the sociologist's mill.

During this period, approximately 1,050 papers will have been evaluated, and except in a very few cases each manuscript has been read by at least two referees. The fact that considerably more than 200 of these will have been published or accepted for publication indicates that the ratio of submissions to rejections, about six to one in 1958, has substantially decreased; yet editorial standards, as invoked by the referees, have risen, I believe. The increase in the number of accepted papers presents the incoming Editor with the advantages and disadvantages of a fairly large backlog. The expected continuation of this trend also may encourage a further rise in standards.

There have been no important editorial innovations since last year's report, but certain developments may be noted. More papers by foreign authors have been received, articles by sociologists in England, Poland, and Israel already have been published, and scholars from many nations have been encouraged (especially during the Congress of the International Sociological Association in Stresa) to submit such papers. A growing but as yet small number of papers, judged by the referees as important contributions to social psychology, have been referred to *Sociometry*. The nature of the papers at hand during the past year has permitted the publication of only one semi-thematic issue: on demographic problems, in June.

The most notable and altogether dismal event

for the *Review* in 1960 was the death of Michael Olmsted, in February. An excellent Book Review Editor, Mike also was a first-rate referee in fields of his special interests, an artistic designer, a wonderfully candid critic, and a stimulating editorial colleague. Mary Goss and Allen Kassof and Thomas Wilkinson, who in recent months diligently carried out many of the tasks of the book review editorship, will agree, I know, that Mike could not be replaced. Bureaucracies, especially little ones, have limitations.

The limitations of the outgoing Editor have made him especially dependent upon the assistance—ranging from dull routine to advice by experts to criticism of editorial shortcomings—of many persons. Once more, I record gratefully my large obligation to the 23 sociologists who have been Associate Editors during my tenure, the some 125 additional referees, the members of the local editorial staff, Matilda White Riley and her associates in the Executive Office, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Quellmalz of the Boyd Printing Company. These individuals are aware of certain of my foibles. Betty H. Vogel, the *Review's* superb editorial secretary, to whom I am also greatly indebted, must know all of them.

My indebtedness to authors of both accepted and rejected papers is of a different kind, but extensive. Many of their letters have included generous and warming comments. Others have voiced the understandable wrath of writers at

TABLE 1. EDITED CONTENTS OF *American Sociological Review*, VOLUMES 23, 24, 25

CONTENTS ¹	Volume 23 (1958)			Volume 24 (1959)			Volume 25 (1960) ²			Totals, 1958-1960	
	Pages	Per cent	No.	Pages	Per cent	No.	Pages	Per cent	No.	Pages	No.
Articles, Research Reports and Notes	417	55	55	552	59	66	570	59	64	1539	185
Communications	23	3	—	29	3	—	32	3	—	84	—
The Profession:											
Reports and Opinion	103	14	11 ³	117	13	7 ³	126	13	9 ³	346	27 ³
Reviews (Review Articles, Book Reviews and Book Notes)	181	24	252 ⁴	193	21	258 ⁴	205	21	315 ⁴	579	825 ⁴
Publications Received, Annual Index	33	4	—	37	4	—	41	4	—	111	—
Totals	757	100	—	928	100	—	974	100	—	2659	—

¹ Excludes standing pages and advertisements.

² Includes what are believed to be fairly accurate estimates of contents of October and December issues, 1960.

³ These figures refer only to articles and extensive communications which appear in this section of the *Review*; they do not include official reports, news and announcements, and miscellany.

⁴ These figures refer to the number of books reviewed, whether individually or in joint reviews or review articles. One review article was published in 1958, three in 1959, and two in 1960.

the mercy of an overly compulsive editor, who nevertheless remains convinced that painstaking formulation should be an important part of scholarly craftsmanship. Both commendation and criticism are among what have been for me the several and splendid psychological rewards of a ruthlessly demanding job.

As the blue pencil is passed to the strong hands of Harry Alpert, only one specific recommendation is made to the Association, for I believe that the Editor should be governed by minimal policy restrictions. It may be appropriate, however, to comment on certain matters. First, the continuation of the previous Editor's policy of submitting papers to editorial review with the attempt to conceal the authors' identities has been advantageous, I am sure, to referees, the Editor, and to authors themselves. Second, the publication of somewhat longer papers than in earlier years, although reducing the number of papers, has permitted the inclusion of several particularly meritorious articles, at least in the judgment of the referees. Third, the principal referees, the 15 Associate Editors, carry a very heavy load; perhaps their number should again be increased. Fourth, some areas of sociological and social concern—notably, social change, collective behavior, popular culture, and especially military sociology—have been underrepresented in the *Review*; the incoming Editor may wish to encourage or to seek contributions in these fields.

But endeavors of this kind require time and energy, far too much of which must be devoted, given the present circumstances, to the task of preparing manuscripts for publication. Therefore, I recommend that an office of assistant to the Editor be established; that its occupant, with or without sociological pedigree, be appointed by the Editor; and that, if necessary, budgetary provision be made for this office.

Respectfully submitted,
CHARLES H. PAGE
Editor

Report of the Editor of *Sociometry*

Sociometry has continued its slow but steady increase in subscriptions and in manuscripts published. Subscriptions are now over 1,500. There was a decline in the total number of manuscripts received, but an increase in the proportion rated acceptable or potentially acceptable by the editors. In consequence, issue length has been increased by ten to twenty pages.

From July 1, 1959 to June 30, 1960, 109 manuscripts were submitted for the first time, and 15 revisions of manuscripts previously submitted were received. Of this total, plus the

articles under review at the beginning of the period, 32 have been accepted for publication, 96 have been rejected and 18 are currently under review or revision.

The Associate Editors and Editorial Consultants have been most cooperative in attempting to speed up the process of review. There has been a substantial reduction in the number of manuscripts held for more than two months. The median time elapsing between receipt of a manuscript and the mailing of notice of acceptance or rejection is now approximately six weeks, and four-fifths of the notification letters are in the mail within sixty days.

There apparently remains considerable ambiguity among potential contributors as to the content area to be served by *Sociometry*. In general, the editors would stress the implications of the subtitle, *A Journal of Research in Social Psychology*, rather than emphasizing measurement *per se* or preoccupation with particular research techniques. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the referral, by the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, of several excellent manuscripts which reported social psychological research and which had initially been submitted to the *Review*.

As of September, 1960, the Editor will move to the campus of the University of California, at Berkeley. He will leave Bethesda in considerable debt to his colleagues at the National Institute of Mental Health who helped carry the tasks of the editorial office. To Melvin Kohn, who served as Acting Editor during September and October, 1959, and to Frances Polen, who has maintained order in the flow of manuscripts, letters and proof, the editor expresses his special thanks. Finally, for their patience and helpfulness in meeting administrative needs and in getting out the journal, three more cheers for Matilda White Riley and Grace Hooper in the Executive Office and for Henry Quellmalz of the Boyd Printing Company.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN A. CLAUSEN
Editor

Report on Bulletin Series on Fields of Application of Sociology

No new bulletins have been published since my last report. Interest in the four published to date has continued and is reflected in the sales as shown on page 943.*

Bulletins in preparation but now overdue are *Sociology and the Practice of Medicine* by Albert F. Wessen, manuscript now promised in early fall of 1960; *Sociology and the Field of*

Social Work by Henry J. Meyer, manuscript now promised in the spring of 1961.

This year arrangements were made for the preparation of the following bulletins: *Sociology and the Field of Religion* by Samuel W. Blizzard of the Princeton Theological Seminary; *Sociology and the Field of Public Health* by Edward A. Suchman of the New York City Department of Health; *Sociology and the Field of Industrial Relations* by Henry A. Landsberger of Cornell University; and *Sociology and the Field of Law* by William M. Evan of the Bell Telephone Laboratories. Satisfactory progress is reported on these works and it is anticipated that manuscripts on some of them will be completed early in 1961.

During the past year efforts were made to initiate bulletins on *Sociology and the Field of Business Management* and *Sociology and the Field of Government Service*. It is hoped that arrangements can be made to get these works started during the coming year.

Request has been made from time to time, and is here repeated, for suggestions from the members of the Association for other bulletin topics within the general objective of the series, namely, the application of sociology to various fields of professional practice.

Respectfully submitted,
LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.
Editor

Report of the Committee on Publications

The Committee approved by mail ballot the policy of charging for materials reprinted from the *Review* and *Sociometry*, as published in the December, 1959, issue of the *Review*, p. 868. About 250 dollars was received for such reprinting during the first six months of 1960.

The Committee was requested to submit nominations for Editor of the *Review*, and the Chairman was instructed by the Council to conduct negotiations with prospective candidates as selected by the Council balloting. It is gratifying to report that Harry Alpert, of the University

of Oregon, has accepted the appointment for a three-year term.

Following instruction by the Executive Committee, the Chairman of the Publications Committee appointed Kingsley Davis to chair a Committee to investigate the feasibility of obtaining a subsidy for the publication of a journal in the field of educational sociology.

Respectfully submitted,
DONALD YOUNG, Chairman

Report of the Membership Committee

As of May 1, 1960, the total membership of the American Sociological Association had reached a new high of 6,875, as Table 1 indicates. All categories of membership show increases for the third year in a row, although the proportion of Associate Members (as compared with Active Members and Fellows) is gradually becoming somewhat higher as the criteria for Active classification become more stringent.

TABLE 1. MEMBERSHIP IN THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Membership Class	May 1, 1960	May 1, 1959	May 1, 1958	May 1, 1957
Active and Fellow	2,700 ¹	2,692	2,528	2,402
Associate	1,886	1,521	1,290	1,213
Student	2,289	2,110	1,857	1,618
Total	6,875	6,323	5,675	5,233
Net increase over previous year	552 (9%)	648 (11%)	442 (8%)	279 (6%)

¹ This total is made up of 1,622 Fellows and 1,078 Active Members. The Fellow category was introduced in 1959, subsequent to the May 1 tabulations.

The net increase of 552 members this year comes, as usual, from the addition of nearly 1,100 new members and nearly 200 reinstatements, counterbalanced by the loss of over 700 members through death, resignation, or failure

* Bulletins	Date Published	Copies Sold 1959-60	Total Sales
<i>Sociology and the Field of Corrections</i> by Lloyd E. Ohlin	1/26/56	319	3,903
<i>Sociology and the Field of Mental Health</i> by John A. Clausen	4/9/56	435	4,003
<i>Sociology and the Field of Education</i> by Orville G. Brim, Jr.	7/15/58	686	2,675
<i>Sociology and the Military Establishment</i> by Morris Janowitz	4/1/59	833	1,752

to pay dues. As compared with last year, the relative rates of new member accretions and reinstatements have declined slightly—perhaps because 1959 was a Directory year. At the same time, the drop-out rate has improved in the critical category of Active Members and Fellows. Thus the net increase for 1960 is nine per cent, two percentage points below the net gain for the previous year.

The new members were brought in during 1960 in part through the direct efforts of the Membership Committee. In addition, new members came in through unsolicited Office contacts, and through the mailing by the Office of invitations to lists of several thousand non-members, obtained from Chairmen of graduate departments of sociology and Deans of institutions of higher learning, regional societies, associations in related fields, and the like. Responses to these invitations suggest increasing knowledge of and interest in the Association among graduate students and professional sociologists.

Apart from its regular activities, the Membership Committee, through the kind offices of Matilda Riley and her staff, has made progress towards its ultimate goal of reorganizing its roster of representatives. Last year each member was asked to indicate whether he wished to continue serving on the Committee and if not, to nominate a colleague in his own department as a successor. We are now in the process of developing a regional system of representatives with the ultimate purpose of arranging for meetings of Membership Committee representatives at annual regional society meetings. This should provide for more efficient and effective lines of communication among Committee members concerning problems of recruitment and maintenance of membership. A survey of the current list of Membership Committee representation shows a total of 257 distributed among 46 states and one foreign country.

Finally, the status of student organizations *vis-à-vis* the Association is a policy question that will be decided during the coming year.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD W. PFAUTZ
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Training and Professional Standards

The Committee has been inactive throughout the year.

The writer, who is resigning on May 12, 1960, from his chairmanship and membership on the Committee, will engage during the coming year and a half in a study of graduate training in

sociology, on part-time leave from the Social Science Research Council. A prospectus of the study, for which funds have been provided by the Russell Sage Foundation, appears in the 1959 annual report of this committee (*American Sociological Review*, December 1959, p. 876). In keeping with the prospectus, the study will be solely its author's responsibility; he will not speak officially for the Association or any other organization nor be obligated to confine his report to matters of general consensus, so that "constructive dissent from his conclusions will be welcomed."

Respectfully submitted,
ELBRIDGE SIBLEY
Chairman

Report of the Research Committee

On March 25th, the Executive Committee of the Association "voted to appropriate 1,000 dollars to the Research Committee for an evaluation project, provided that the balance required by the project would be supplied by one of the Foundations." On June 3rd, application was made to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant of 3,500 dollars.

- (1) to enable the Committee to complete its testing of the system developed two years ago for the rating of sociological research reports;
- (2) to complete evaluation of research papers published in a three year run of the major sociological journals.

The Committee's program for 1960-1961 can not be definitely planned until the Foundation's action on this application is known.

Respectfully submitted,
THEODORE CAPLOW
HANAN C. SELVIN
Co-chairmen

Report of the Classification Committee

Problems of member classification arise in connection with (a) requests for Active membership, and (b) transition to Fellowship after five years of Active status. During the past year, the Classification Committee has advised the Secretary and the Executive Office on the basis of criteria specified by the Council, without at this time recommending to the Council any further changes in the definition or application of these criteria.

The question of Fellowship arose in 1960 in the cases of 151 members who had been made

Active initially in 1955. Of these, 94 "automatically" became Fellows under the By-Laws, since their Active status originally rested either upon a Ph.D. or equivalent professional training in Sociology (criterion a), or upon substantial professional achievement in Sociology (criterion b). The remainder had been classified Active in 1955 on the basis of education or professional achievement, not in Sociology, but in related fields (criterion c), such as human relations, public health, social welfare, social psychiatry, human development, industrial relations, education, and social science. In such cases, the By-Laws require "major commitment to the field of Sociology," and the Council at its Chicago meeting ruled that these individuals should be given the option of becoming Fellows or remaining Active Members depending upon whether they report themselves (in writing) as having such "major commitment." In line with this mandate, a total of 131 members were issued Fellow certificates in 1960.

There were also 11 Fellows who, upon request, were reclassified as Associate Members. Most of these were foreign members residing abroad, who wished to avail themselves of the option of paying the special dues rate of eight dollars by becoming Associate Members.

Requests for Active classification are, of course, far more numerous, coming this year from more than 400 new members, reinstated members, and others desiring reclassification. Applications from members with the Ph.D. in Sociology are handled routinely in the Executive Office. On other applications, the Secretary and Executive Officer have secured advice from the Committee. In a number of instances, letters were sent for additional information about the candidates. Decisions were made in each case in line with the Council mandate to the Committee to continue its present policy of rigorous application of existing standards. These standards, as they had been reviewed during 1958 by the Executive Committee, typically require either the Ph.D. or substantial professional achievement (for example, a full Professorship in a recognized institution) in sociology as such. Exceptions are made only in very special cases, usually requiring evidence of sociological emphasis or implication through:

- 1) Some publication record in sociology combined with—
- 2) Either collaboration with sociologists on interdisciplinary research, teaching, or "practitioner" teams
Or sociological approach or sociological commitment to a field in which sociology has a recognized "stake," such as family affairs, penology, market research, and communications.

Under these criteria, slightly more than 100 members have so far been made Active in 1960.

Respectfully submitted,
ELBRIDGE SIBLEY
Chairman

Report of the Committee on the Profession

The Committee engaged, in the course of the year, in a number of activities, several of which are also mentioned in other reports of the Association. The principal ones are as follows:

1) In connection with the resignation of Matilda Riley as Executive Officer, and the changes necessitated by that event, the Committee, through its Sub-committee on Sociology in the Federal Government, considered the problem of the location of the Association's central office. The problem of adequate Washington representation has long been acute, but it did not prove feasible to consider a move at this time. It seemed best, therefore, that the office should remain in New York, and this course was recommended to and adopted by the Executive Committee and Council. At the same time it was felt that strengthening of representation in Washington was urgent and measures to accomplish this should be taken as soon as possible.

2) The activities of the Sub-committee on Certification of Social Psychologists are reported separately by the Chairman of that Sub-committee. The full Committee felt that an outstanding job had been done in completing the agreement with the American Psychological Association on exemption clauses, and on following up this agreement at the level of the states. Measures were also taken to implement our side of the agreement by settling the details of the certification procedure through the Section on Social Psychology. To our regret Chairman Swanson requested to be relieved of his obligation. His resignation was accepted as of the time of the 1960 Annual Meeting, and Irwin Sanders has been appointed in his place. Mr. Sanders will propose to the Council the other members of his Sub-committee.

3) The Sub-committee on Sociology in the Federal Government has been particularly concerned with the civil service status of sociologists. John Clausen, as Chairman, has kept in close touch with this situation, and President Becker made strong representations on the subject of sociologically trained social psychologists.

4) There has been a rising volume of problems coming before the Association and its members involving questions of ethics. The Committee hence decided to appoint a new Sub-

committee on Ethics of the Profession. Robert C. Angell has consented, starting after the annual meeting, to serve as Chairman of that Sub-committee. The Sub-committee will consider cases which come to it, involving not only teaching situations, but also research, e.g. relations to subjects, to employers, especially when these are nonacademic, and the consulting relationship. It is hoped that eventually a code of ethics with a solid empirical basis in case experience can be built up.

5) Partly for the information of the membership, and partly as a way of answering frequent inquiries from outside, the Executive Office was requested to write up an analysis of the data about the compositions of the membership which were gained in connection with the last edition of the Directory, and to publish this in the *Review*.

6) In cooperation with the Committee on Training and Professional Standards, this Committee has for some time had under discussion a study of problems of graduate training in sociology. We are happy to report that it has been arranged that Elbridge Sibley will have part-time leave of absence from the Social Science Research Council for the coming year, in order to carry out the study, and that financial support for it has been secured through a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation.

7) The problem of a symposium, in some sense parallel to *Sociology Today*, on the profession as distinguished from intellectual content, was again discussed. It seemed that such a project as a whole was perhaps premature, pending various expected developments. It was, however, decided to explore the possibilities of stimulating research on the history of the profession, in this and other countries.

8) The problem of the relation of the accelerating movement to establish Sections to the structure of the profession and of the Association was discussed. It was felt that a more definite policy on this problem should be worked out and enacted by the Council. The Committee is in process of working on a draft of such a policy involving such matters as the definition of appropriate fields in which Sections should be established. It is hoped this statement can be submitted to the 1961 Council. One positive recommendation was made and has been accepted by the Council, namely that, in order to insure representativeness, the original nominating committee for the officers of a new section should be appointed by the President; the Association should not accept a self-nominated slate of an interested group without review.

9) There has been a number of personnel changes in the Committee. As noted, Guy Swan-

son has resigned as Chairman of the Sub-committee on Certification and has been replaced by Irwin Sanders. Kingsley Davis, as the former President most concerned with setting up the Committee in its present form, has accepted membership in its "steering committee." Robert Angell has accepted the Chairmanship of the new Sub-committee on Professional Ethics.

10) In line with these developments, the Chairman recommends to the Council that:

- a) each of these Sub-committees be made a Committee in its own right, reporting directly to the Council;
- b) the present "steering committee" become a Committee on Organization and Plans, to give continuing consideration to long-range planning, and to advise the President, Secretary, and Executive Office.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS
Chairman

Report of the Sub-Committee on Legislation That Certifies Psychologists

Our work since September of 1959 was eased by two conditions: very little legislative action was initiated by state psychological associations because most legislatures did not meet during the year, and cooperation from the American Psychological Association's (APA) Central Office helped greatly in the situations we did encounter. In September of 1959, 16 states had laws which licensed or certified psychologists, a gain of two over the previous year. The law in one of these states, Utah, exempts from its provisions those social psychologists certified by the American Sociological Association (ASA). In 1959-1960, the provincial legislature in Ontario considered a bill providing for certification of the title "psychologist." This law did not contain an ASA-approved exemption clause. Its enactment is still in doubt.

We believe that the bill submitted in Ontario can be the last instance of a certification law lacking an ASA exemption clause. In the fall of 1959, the Board of Directors and Council of APA adopted the legislative proposals suggested by ASA. These proposals, as reported in the *American Sociological Review* (June, 1959, p. 402) and *The American Psychologist* (October, 1959, pp. 666-667), are now official APA policy. Such policies are professionally binding on state psychological associations.

During the year just past, we have often received assistance from APA's Central Office in implementing the new agreement between our professional associations. The APA has sent two special notices to its state associations call-

ing attention to this agreement. We failed to obtain inclusion of an exemption clause in Ontario because we were not represented there when the bill was introduced and because word of the new APA policy had not had time to reach the Ontario Psychological Association. In four states, Ohio, Wisconsin, Kansas, and New Jersey, draft legislation developed this year for submission in 1960-1961 will contain an exemption clause. The officers of psychological associations contemplating the development of legislation in several other states have been reminded by APA's Central Office to implement the new arrangement with ASA. We know of no case in which a state psychological association has rejected the new policy and we know of many in which it will be put into effect.

It is possible that we may fail to influence some new law through default on our part. It is essential that we be represented in every American state and every Canadian province, that our representatives learn early in each year of bills that are being developed, and that they immediately notify this Sub-Committee if difficulties arise in their negotiations.

In addition to working out procedures for implementing the ASA-APA agreement, this Sub-Committee sought the amendment of existing certification laws. We decided to concentrate our attention on two cases in order to develop procedures for the future. New York and Michigan were selected because there was some hope that our amendments could be included among the bills submitted as "housekeeping" legislation by the state Superintendents of Public Instruction who administer the certification laws. In neither case were we successful. Each involved distinctive problems.

The New York Psychological Association faces several groups desiring exemption from certification or the repeal of the certification law. Among the former are the lay-psychanalysts who want to call themselves "psychologists." The NYPA wants to develop a general policy with regard to these groups before collaborating with any of them in obtaining exemption from certification. It has been our view that NYPA should decide each of these cases on its own merits, and should proceed to implement APA policy by assisting our representatives in New York as they seek to amend the certification act. Negotiations are in process.

The state psychological association in Michigan, and a committee of psychologists and others appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction to guide him in administering the new certification act, have recommended that the law be amended by the insertion of one of our exemption clauses. This amendment, to-

gether with most of the others proposed to the legislature by these bodies, failed of passage in the 1959-1960 session. Their failure seems a result of lack of organized support and of the legislature's preoccupation with the state's tax problems. No opposition was observed. The amendments, again with the support of the state's psychologists and the Superintendent's office, will be reintroduced in 1960-1961.

Because it is difficult to amend legislation once enacted, it is important to insert exemption clauses in bills *before* they are submitted for enactment.

Recommendations

- (a) That the Council act with all speed to complete the establishment of procedures for the certification of social psychologists.
- (b) That the Executive Officer be asked to extend the Association's appreciation to Dr. John Darley and Mrs. Jane Hildreth of APA's Central Office for their help in implementing the joint policies of our Association.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID F. ABERLE

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

GUY E. SWANSON, *Chairman*

Report of the Sub-committee on Sociology in the Federal Government

In seeking to represent the interests of the profession on the Washington scene during the past year, the Sub-committee has largely functioned through the efforts of its individual members. As a group, this Sub-committee gave primary consideration to the question of whether it might be feasible to house and staff the Executive Office in Washington in the near future. A preliminary exploration of space and personnel currently available in the Washington area suggested that it might be more difficult to meet the Association's general Executive Office needs in Washington than in New York. This conclusion does not, however, in any way imply that there is anything less than an acute need for paid representation of the Association's interests in the nation's capital.

Some progress has been made toward ascertaining the professional characteristics and distribution of sociologists employed by the Federal government. Starting with a list, prepared by the Executive Office, of sociologists reported in the last Directory as federally employed, preliminary tabulations on civilian employees have been made of such data as were available in the Directory. Making corrections for known status changes and errors, the 161 members (of

all categories) who are civilian employees of the Federal government included 49 Fellows, 39 Active members and 73 Associate members; 57 held the Ph.D. in sociology, 18 in other fields. Roughly two-thirds of these members were employed in the Washington area. Ten per cent were on overseas assignments.

To ascertain the nature of the job assignments held by sociologists in the Federal Civil Service (in order to assess the feasibility of establishing specific job standards for sociologists) it will be necessary to secure data directly from this population. A mail survey is planned and will hopefully be carried through in the Fall of 1960, under a modest grant from the Association to cover mailing and analysis costs.

Members of the Sub-committee have continued to provide personnel in the Civil Service Commission with information on the nature of sociological training and professional competence and on relationships among the behavioral sciences, in order to guard against policies or job titles which might inappropriately exclude sociologists from the full exercise of their professional skills in the Federal government. This task will require vigilance, careful thought and friendly communication with our colleagues in other social sciences.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN A. CLAUSEN
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Social Statistics

The Committee was unable to hold a meeting during the past year, but it has prepared and activated a detailed work program by means of extensive correspondence. The major focus of our effort is (a) the establishment of more effective "census-to-consumer communication" concerning the 1960 Census of Population and Housing, and (b) plans for analogous work on other areas of social statistics. This program is designed to complement the Committee's earlier emphasis (prior to the 1960 Census) on "consumer-to-census communication," as exemplified in its poll of the Association membership. (See Dudley Kirk, "The Views of Sociologists on Plans for the 1960 Census," *American Sociological Review*, 24 [February, 1959], pp. 98-101.)

(1) The general goal is the establishment of more effective liaison with census and other officials in key data-collecting agencies. It is hoped, for example, that interested members of the Association can have their names placed upon appropriate mailing lists to re-

ceive announcements of census and other publications of sociological interest. In addition, we are seeking a detailed statement from the Bureau of the Census concerning the mechanics of obtaining special tabulations and other items of widespread interest.

(2) The most specific means of facilitating liaison appears to be the arrangement of a special session devoted to social statistics at the 1961 (St. Louis) meetings of the Association. The Committee is actively planning such a session, to be devoted to such topics as the sociological relevance of (a) the 1960 Census of Population and Housing, (b) the Current Population Survey, (c) other census programs, and (d) other sources of mass data. In the latter connection, the Committee would like to call attention to the availability of a useful general guide to the many statistical operations of the federal government: *Office of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget, Statistical Services of the United States Government* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1959 revised edition, 40 cents).

The Committee expects to make further announcements from time to time concerning these matters, either by a mailing to the Association membership or by means of announcements in the *Review*.

Respectfully submitted,
THEODORE R. ANDERSON
ROBERT G. BURNIGHT
JOHN F. KANTNER
DUDLEY KIRK
GERHARD E. LENSKI
LEO F. SCHNORE, *Chairman*

Report of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics

Since the inauguration of the Marriage Registration Area in January 1957, two additional states have been added to the Area, making a total of 33 at the present time. Several other states are expected to join in the near future.

The progress of the Divorce Registration Area is much less favorable. Only 18 states are in the DRA at present, an increase of two since its establishment in January 1958. Dr. Hugh Carter estimates that at least a dozen states might be able to join the DRA very soon if the requirement for inclusion of the item on race or color on the Divorce Record Form were removed. At his request, we obtained the opinions of our Committee members on this issue and make the following recommendations to NOVS. (1) That the requirement for inclusion of the item on race or color be removed for

those states which could not otherwise participate. (2) That states joining the Area without providing this information be encouraged to add the item to their Form as soon as possible. (3) That separate tabulations including race or color should be provided by NOVS for all states furnishing that data. One member of the Committee felt that we should "stick to our guns" in demanding this item. The others expressed the view that it would be preferable to obtain as much data as possible from these states.

Deficiencies in marriage and divorce data due to lack of coverage in the MRA and DRA will partially be compensated for by the Transcript Program initiated by NOVS in January 1960. Under this program a sample of the statistical record sheets of marriages and divorces will be obtained from each state office, or from local offices if not otherwise available. Detailed tables will be prepared comparable to reports on births and deaths. The non-registration states will be included in this program on a sample basis.

The main activity of this Committee during the past year, as in previous years, has been the attempt to encourage non-member states to join the Marriage and Divorce Registration Areas. Committee members wrote to the responsible officials expressing the continued interest of the ASA in having their state included in the Areas. Assuming that many of the officials to whom we would be writing were already convinced of the importance of participation, we are asking them to suggest names of other people to whom we could write to help them gain necessary cooperation. This correspondence will be carried out during the summer and fall in the hope that it may stimulate action in the next legislative session in states where this is necessary.

It is difficult to assess the effect of the type of gentle persuasion that has been attempted by the Committee for several years. There seems to be some evidence that expression of interest by organizations such as ours is helpful. However, it is very likely that the usefulness of this kind of activity has been fairly well exhausted. Consequently, we are making two recommendations for the Committee next year. (1) That the Committee work with NOVS to prepare a summary of the conditions existing in each non-member state which prevent its joining the program. This summary would enable the Committee to direct its activities in this regard more efficiently. (2) That Committee members be selected, as much as possible, from non-member states. With the composition of the Committee this year, only 8 members could be assigned to write to officials in their own states. Committee members could then work more closely with appropriate

officials in whatever way would implement the program.

Respectfully submitted,

G. FRANKLIN EDWARDS

WILLIAM J. GOODE

REUBEN HILL

WILLIAM M. KEPHART

JUDSON LANDIS

EUGENE LITWAK

A. R. MANGUS

MEYER NIMKOFF

DANIEL O. PRICE

NORMAN B. RYDER

CALVIN SCHMID

LYDA GORDON SHIVERS

JOHN SIRJAMAKI

CHARLES E. BOWERMAN,

Chairman

Report of the Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries

The Committee began with the report of its predecessor and a number of steps to facilitate contact between sociologists in this country and those abroad were taken.

The Executive Office of the Association will attempt to develop lists of foreign sociologists who are expected to come to this country and will make those available to Departments of Sociology either directly or through the *Review*.

Special invitations are being sent to sociologists who are expected to be in this country at the time of the annual meeting, inviting them to participate.

The Executive Office will offer to make its services available to help foreign sociologists traveling in this country make contacts with sociologists here.

In view of the number of American sociologists who go abroad each year, it would appear desirable to develop a calendar of meetings of interest to sociologists which are being held in other countries. It is suggested that the Executive Office undertake the development of such a calendar and offer to make it available to sociologists who may be traveling abroad. The Committee has also considered the desirability of having persons who may find it possible to attend such meetings designated as representatives of the Association, or members of this Committee.

Consideration has been given to the possibility of developing a directory of sociologists in other countries. This is being discussed with the officers of the International Sociological Association.

The Committee has also given some consideration to the 1962 meeting of the International

Sociological Association in Washington. It is suggested that some departments may wish to take advantage of the presence in this country of sociologists from other countries at the time of that meeting and to invite such individuals to their institutions for lectures, seminars, and the like.

Other matters which continue under consideration are:

- a. The arrangements by which foreign sociologists who are in this country might take a more active part in national or regional meetings of the Association.
- b. The facilitation of contacts between specialized groups in our Association with their counterparts elsewhere, particularly in relation to those countries whose journals are not widely distributed or easily read here.
- c. The most effective ways of making the stay of foreign sociologists in this country productive.

Respectfully submitted,
CONRAD TAEUBER
Chairman

Report of Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education

At its meeting in Chicago, 1959, the Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education voted to ask the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Association to poll the membership concerning its interest in organizing a Section on sociology of education. Slightly over 200 members responded favorably to this poll. Preliminary organizational steps have been taken to carry out this action.

The committee also renewed its recommendation that the American Sociological Association seek to arrange for the official sponsorship of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*. Continued action in this direction is being carried on by the Publications Committee of the Association.

During the year several members of the committee, along with other sociologists, have taken active roles in promoting the inclusion of sociology in the education and requirements for certification of teachers. Consideration of further action on this topic will be on the agenda for the committee meeting in New York during the 1960 annual meeting.

The Chairman of the Liaison Committee has maintained communication with the President of the Association and members of the Executive Committee concerning the participation of the American Sociological Association in the newly organized Educational Research Council. The committee will discuss this. A re-examination of the function of this committee should be

made as soon as the Sociology of Education Section has been organized. This report is by the chairman of the committee and has not been approved by its members.

Respectfully submitted,
WILBUR BROOKOVER
Chairman

Report of the Committee to Administer the Carnegie Travel Grant

The Committee in the past year has continued to operate within the framework previously approved by the Council and reported in the *American Sociological Review* for December 1957 (pp. 753-754) and December 1958 (pp. 716-717). In brief, its duties have been to develop and administer regulations for the use of a grant of 9,000 dollars received in May 1957 from the Carnegie Corporation. This grant was for the purpose of meeting travel expenses of official delegates of the Association attending appropriate international meetings.

Since October 1, 1959, the Committee has approved travel grants for official delegates to two meetings as follows:

- 1) To Harry Alpert to attend the Sixth Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Paris, France (declined);
- 2) To Marshall Clinard to attend the meetings of the Société Internationale de Criminologie, The Hague, Netherlands.

The Committee has continued to advise the American Council of Learned Societies on travel grants to sociologists made by that organization.

Expenditures authorized by the Committee and made through the Executive Office are these:

1958	\$ 375
1959	5,370
1960	630
<hr/>	
	\$6,375

Allowing for overhead, a balance of approximately 2,000 dollars is available to support future delegates of the Association. The Carnegie Corporation has agreed to permit the balance to be used until it is exhausted, thus waiving the original limitation to a three-year period.

Recommendation. The Committee strongly suggests that the President, with the assistance of the Council, make appropriate appointments which will fully use the remaining balance in 1961. Members of the Association who are participating actively in international meetings on

the list approved by the committee and who wish to be considered for appointment should apprise President Faris.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT ANGELL
STUART QUEEN
VINCENT H. WHITNEY
Chairman

**Report of the Committee to Administer the
Asia Foundation Grant for Improving
Relations with Asian Sociologists**

A report was submitted to the Asia Foundation on January 18, 1960, dealing with the expenditure of funds from the second grant of 2,500 dollars made by the Foundation. The report pointed out the lively interest on the part of foreign sociologists in taking advantage of the membership program, and also the strong desire of Asian students and visiting scholars to attend the sociological meetings.

At the end of 1959 the total number of members and subscribers under the grant had reached 91, and another 38 have been accepted during the first months of 1960.

Funds for travel to the annual meeting were substantially increased in 1959. This was felt necessary since the 1958 plan to subsidize scholars with only a portion of their travel expenses meant that a number of applicants could not find the additional funds and at the last minute did not make the trip. Since inquiries concerning the travel grant to attend the meetings increased and the demand remained lively, we arranged larger grants.

The expressions of gratitude carry their own note of sincerity. The following excerpt is typical of several comments we have received:

I certainly enjoyed attending the meetings of the American Sociological Association. It was quite educational as well as pleasurable to hear in person many sociologists whose works I am familiar with. I hope that Asia Foundation will continue to support such a program that makes it possible for Asian sociologists to become more acquainted with the works of American sociologists.

Subsequent to the report of January 18 to the Foundation, the officers of the Foundation made available a third grant of 2,500 dollars to be used for similar purposes. Since receiving this sum, we have advertised again both the reduced-rate memberships and the travel grants-in-aid for Asian sociologists, and a steady response has already been received. We believe that the program is becoming more widely known and ap-

preciated, and that interest in the future will increase rather than diminish.

Respectfully submitted,
KINGSLEY DAVIS
Chairman

**Report of the Representative to the
International Sociological Association**

The International Sociological Association held its Fourth World Congress in Stresa and Milan, Italy, on September 8-15, 1959. The meetings were exceptionally well attended, with over a thousand registrants. All of the nations of the world currently holding membership in the ISA were represented among those in attendance. In addition, individuals from several countries not now having membership in the ISA were present as observers. A large delegation of sociologists from the United States of America attended the meetings, many of them presenting papers, and several presiding at section meetings. There were excellent opportunities for the participants from different countries to meet each other and engage in discussion. The fine quality of the programs and the liveliness of the discussions evinced a strong spirit of scholarly enthusiasm. There were very impressive signs of the emergence and vigorous growth of sociological interest and study throughout the world.

Following are the more significant actions taken by the Council of the ISA:

1. Professor T. H. Marshall of the United Kingdom was elected President of the ISA for the period 1959-1962.
2. The resignation of Mr. T. B. Bottomore as Executive Secretary was accepted. Professor Pierre de Bie was appointed as Executive Secretary for a period of five years, 1959-1964. During this five-year period, the Secretariat of the ISA will be established at 118, rue des Flamands, Louvain, Belgium.
3. The following national associations were admitted to membership in the ISA: The Bulgarian Sociological Association, the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Chinese Sociological Society of the Republic of China (Taiwan), and the Rumanian Sociological Association. In addition, the Danish National Institute of Social Research was admitted to membership.
4. The invitation of the American Sociological Association to hold the Fifth World Congress of Sociology in Washington, D. C. in 1962 was accepted.
5. A program committee for the 1962 Congress was appointed. The American members of the committee are Professor R. C. Angell and Professor S. M. Lipset.

There are two matters pertaining to the relations of the American Sociological Association to the ISA that deserve mention and stress. One is the need of strong support of the journal, *Current Sociology*, inaugurated and published under the sponsorship of the ISA. American sociologists are urged to enter individual subscriptions to this journal which is the chief international medium of sociology; at the minimum they should see that their respective college and university libraries are subscribers to the journal. An expansion in the number of its subscribers will insure that this important publication is self-supporting and able to serve our international needs more effectively. *Current Sociology* may be ordered at reduced rates through the American Sociological Association.

The second item is the need of giving unstinted aid and effort in the organization and staging of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology which will convene in Washington, D. C., September 2-8, 1962, immediately following the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. Because of the eminent position of American sociology on the world scene, expectations will be high among the large number of foreign sociologists who will be in attendance. Our hospitality, our aid, and our participation should be substantial.

Respectfully submitted,
HERBERT BLUMER

Report of the American Organizing Committee for the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, 1962

At the Fourth World Congress of Sociology in Milan and Stresa in September 1959, the American Sociological Association extended an invitation to the International Sociological Association to hold the Fifth Congress in 1962 in Washington. This invitation was accepted.

A tentative commitment of 50,000 dollars for the travel of foreign scholars had already been obtained from the ACLS-SSRC Committee administering a Ford Foundation grant for the support of international meetings in this country. The Congress will be held September 2-8 just following the ASA 1962 meeting. Both will be in the Shoreham.

The planning for the Congress is being carried forward by two bodies. The ISA has appointed a program committee consisting of President T. H. Marshall (Great Britain), Secretary Pierre de Bie (Belgium), and Messrs. T. B. Bottomore (Great Britain), S. Eisenstadt (Israel), G. P. Franzev (USSR), G. Friedmann (France), G. Germani (Argentina), R. König

(West Germany), S. Rokkan (Norway), and S. M. Lipset and R. C. Angell (USA). This group will determine the theme or themes of the Congress, the types of sessions, the principal speakers—in short, will have complete control of the program. It is having its first meeting September 29, 1960 in Paris.

An American Organizing Committee has been appointed by the ASA to have general charge of the plans in this country. Its members are Herbert Blumer, Irwin Sanders, Conrad Taeuber, W. Fred Cottrell and Donald Young, with the undersigned as chairman. Blumer is presently a member of the Executive Committee of the ISA and he and Taeuber are members of the Council of the ISA. Sanders and Cottrell are their alternates. Young is President of the International Social Science Council. The American Organizing committee has asked Taeuber to take general charge of the Washington arrangements and he has associated with him Paul Myers. It has also appointed Robert Merton and Daniel Bell to take charge of a day's entertainment in New York and environs for the European scholars who will probably come by chartered airplane.

Approaches are being made for further funds to help defray the cost of the Congress. Universities are urged to consider appointing distinguished foreign sociologists either for 1961-1962 or 1962-1963 as visiting professors as means of helping more persons from abroad to attend the Congress.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT C. ANGELL
Chairman

Report of the Representative to the Social Science Research Council

Renewed support received recently from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the Council's general programs of fellowships and grants has provided the occasion for review and proposed restructuring of these programs which are open to social scientists and students of social science without restriction as to disciplinary fields, or are of substantive interest. The major change was in the program for Faculty Research Fellowships, which has been maintained essentially unaltered since 1950. Awards may now be made to scholars of demonstrated research achievements without regard to age. Stipends for periods of six months to a year may not exceed 6,000 dollars, and the maximum award for research extending over longer periods ranging up to two years will be 12,000 dollars. Awards may be used for main-

tenance in lieu of salary provided the holders are free of teaching or other regular duties during the time involved. Grants-in-aid of research are continued, though the provisions are modified somewhat and the ceiling has been raised to 2,000 dollars. Predoctoral and postdoctoral Research Training Fellowships are continued on the same basis as in the past. Fellowships may also be provided for periods ranging up to not more than 12 months to be devoted to completing the writing of doctoral dissertations. There are also a number of specialized programs of fellowship and research grants.

The Council has continued its interest in studies, relating to other areas in cooperation with the American Council of Learned Societies. There are a number of joint committees on Slavic studies, the Near and Middle East, Asian studies, Chinese studies, and Latin American studies. Plans are being developed for a similar joint committee for African studies. All of these joint committees are responsible for research grants which are available to all disciplines, as well as for other efforts to advance research.

The Council has long participated in the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils and its Committee on International Exchange of Persons. The President of the Council, as chairman of the Board, took an especially active part in a recent review of the procedures for selecting scholars under the Fulbright Educational Exchange of Persons. A satisfactory understanding was reached with respect to the standards to be applied in the selection of scholars for this program. The discussions emphasized the necessity for keeping clearly in focus the concern of the scholar and scientist as such in the conduct of a program for the International Exchange of Scientific Personnel.

The Council has continued its cooperation in the administration of grants for the purpose of facilitating the holding of international scientific conferences. Under this program 27 awards were made to Americans to participate in the 1959 sessions of the International Sociological Society in Italy. Financial assistance has also been granted for the proposed 1962 meeting of that organization in the United States.

Among the newer committees established by the Council are: Economic Stability, R. A. Gordon, Chairman; Intellective Processes Research, Roger W. Brown, Chairman; Socio-Cultural Contexts of Delinquency, Lloyd E. Ohlin, Chairman; and Urbanization, P. M. Hauser, Chairman. A recent Conference on the History of Quantification in the Sciences represents a first step in the development of proposed research in the field.

The Committee on the 1960 Census of Population Monographs, under the chairmanship of Dudley Kirk, is arranging for the preparation of a monograph series. Among the topics and authors which have been tentatively agreed upon are:

Education	— John K. Folger Charles B. Nam
Family Income	— Alice Rivlin — Herman Miller Selma Goldsmith
Negroes in the United States	— Daniel O. Price
Metropolitan Communities	— Beverly Duncan Otis Dudley Duncan David Goldberg Amos H. Hawley Leo F. Schnore
Rural America	— J. Allan Beegle Dale Hathaway
The Changing Population of the United States	— Conrad Taeuber Irene B. Taeuber

Negotiations for other topics and authors are under way.

In cooperation with the Census Bureau, a revision of *Historical Statistics in the United States* has been prepared for issuance in 1960. The new edition includes a substantial increase in the series on social statistics.

The Urbanization Committee is trying to formulate a statement of the current status of knowledge and its gaps, of the principal methodological issues, and of research priorities by way of a reappraisal of research on urbanization.

The Committee on Family and Economic Behavior has developed a continuing "Research Conference on Family Research Models," an effort to join the thinking in this field of a number of sociologists and a number of economists.

The Council has received a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation for a study of graduate training in the field of Sociology, which will be carried out by Elbridge Sibley.

Respectfully submitted,
CONRAD TAEUBER

Report of the Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies

"The ACLS is a private non-profit federation of thirty national scholarly organizations concerned with the humanities and the humanistic aspects of the social sciences."

As your Delegate has previously reported, one of the critical issues for our Association lies in the nature of the relationship between

the social sciences and the humanities and he is now pleased to report that tentative plans have been made for this to be the theme for the next annual meeting of the ACLS. These meetings are typically held during late January, and steps will be taken to inform the membership as to the place and date of this important session.

Other programs and activities of the ACLS which are of special interest to the Association include:

1. *Expanding interest in area studies.* Here the ACLS is cooperating with the SSRC, typically via joint committees, on Latin American Studies, Asian Studies, Slavic and East European Studies, and a new program of grants for research on Contemporary China and on Africa South of the Sahara.

2. *Fellowships.* This program enables the recipient to devote from six months to one year to research at the post-doctoral level. Last year the average grant amounted to 6,388 dollars.

3. *Grants-in-Aid.* This program is designed to aid the individual researcher by providing supplementary funds. The grants typically do not exceed 2,000 dollars.

4. *International congresses.* The Association will benefit directly by a grant from the ACLS-SSRC in partial support of the meetings of the International Sociological Association which will be held in this country in 1962.

Additional information about any of these programs may be obtained by writing directly to the ACLS, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York. It is the hope of your Delegate that more and more members of the Association will familiarize themselves with these various programs and activities.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN W. RILEY, JR.

Report of the Representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science

The Association cooperated with Section K of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in sponsoring two sessions at the One Hundred Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the AAAS. One session was a symposium on the *Use of Computers in Simulation of Social Behavior*, arranged by James S. Coleman, Johns Hopkins University; the other a symposium on *Trends in Family Formation and Structure*, arranged by Irene B. Taeuber, Princeton University.

The Section K sessions included also pro-

grams arranged jointly with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Society of Criminology, the American Statistical Association, the National Academy of Economic and Political Science, the National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science, and the Population Association of America.

Pendleton Herring, President of the Social Science Research Council, is Chairman of Section K and Vice President of the AAAS for 1960. Donald P. Ray continues as Secretary.

The official journal of the AAAS, *Science*, continues to be on the look out for articles of general interest in the social science field.

Respectfully submitted,
CONRAD TAEUBER

Report of the Representative to the American Correctional Association

The correctional field continues to show a growing interest in the development of research on correctional problems and in exploiting the practical implications of the theoretical and research contributions which sociologists are in a position to make. At the last meeting of the American Correctional Association at Miami Beach, Florida in September 1959, a special program was organized with papers by sociologists (Lloyd Ohlin, Clarence Schragg, and Stanton Wheeler) on organizational problems of the "prison community" in a special tribute to Donald Clemmer's pioneer study, *The Prison Community*, first published twenty years earlier. The meeting was especially well attended and the subsequent discussion of sociological perspectives on correctional organization exhibited a lively interest in the potential value of social science theory and research findings for administrative practice. Correctional administrators seem to be especially appreciative of the way in which organizational theory helps to conceptualize and clarify problems which are matters of everyday concern for them.

This growing awareness of the usefulness of social science for correctional policy is being expressed in an increased eagerness to find competent persons to undertake research in correctional establishments. There is still a reluctance to accept sociologists who have not had some previous exposure to correctional environments. The principal fear expressed is that they will be corrupted by the inmate group before they have acquired understanding of the complex relationships which exist between the inmate system

and the official system. The scarcity of sociologists, however, with correctional experience, who are also competent to direct large-scale research studies, has created a most favorable job market which may help to attract more sociologists to this field in the future than in the past. Each year I find more states expressing an interest in this type of research activity and searching for staff to do the job. I certainly hope that the field of sociology will be able to provide the personnel and competence to seize the increasing opportunities to gain access to these institutions, both juvenile and adult, which have been closed for so long to inquiries of a sociological nature.

A development of special interest to sociologists in the past year has been the establishment of two centers for the advancement of research interest in correctional matters. The National Probation and Parole Association, long one of the most active and progressive agencies in the correctional field, changed its name to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. The new title reflects more accurately their broadening interest in all matters related to the control, treatment and prevention of crime and delinquency. As evidence of this interest they have established a unit, the National Research Center and Information Clearing House on Crime and Delinquency, and have just appointed a sociologist, Hyman H. Frankel, as director. The new unit will maintain a basic library service for correctional materials and will actively seek to stimulate research on correctional problems which have special theoretical and practical importance. The coordination and dissemination of research results will be a central concern as well.

Also in California a private Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency has been established to encourage more extensive research on correctional practices and related matters. This institute maintains very close working relationships with the state system. As its initial task it is undertaking a comprehensive survey of correct experimental research and action projects in the correctional field in this country, Canada, and Europe. It is contemplated that a number of additional projects involving direct research study on correctional organizations and operations will also be sponsored by the institute.

It would seem desirable for sociologists interested in correctional problems to maintain close contact and cooperative working relationships with these newly developed centers. As they become more securely established they may prove to be a major resource for teaching

material and support for research undertakings by sociologists.

Respectfully submitted,
LLOYD E. OHLIN

Report of the Representatives to the American Public Health Association Committee on Behavioral Sciences in Public Health

This Committee met on only one occasion during the past year, October 18, 1959, in conjunction with the annual meetings of the APHA.

During 1959 the Committee successfully co-sponsored the New England Institute on Public Health and Behavioral Sciences held at Winchendon, Massachusetts, on September 9 through 11, 1959. The central topic for this meeting was "The Utilization of the Behavioral Sciences in Official Health Agencies." Thirty-one participants included five state health officers, four division heads from state health departments, nine local health officers, seven social scientists, two faculty members from schools of public health, and two representatives each of the Massachusetts Public Health Association and the American Public Health Association. In an evaluation of the Institute, it was felt that valuable opportunities were provided for health officers, and social scientists to meet together for a frank discussion of problems of mutual interest and for the acquisition of greater and more informed interest in learning about and working with each other. Proceedings of the Institute are to be published, and there was strong consensus among members of the Committee on Behavioral Sciences and Public Health that efforts should be made to develop similar institutes in other regions of the country.

Dr. Edward Wellin, Field Director of the Study of Behavioral Science in Public Health for the APHA, in conjunction with others, is engaged in a survey of current social science research in health and a survey of social science activity in schools of public health.

With support from the Russell Sage Foundation, the Committee has established a field project on behavioral science in the Philadelphia Health Department. Dr. Gertrude Woodruff, an anthropologist, has been engaged to direct the project.

The Committee recognized a serious problem in obtaining *qualified* personnel for positions as social scientists in health agencies. A subcommittee of Drs. Charles L. Wilbar, Edward A. Suchman, and Edward Wellin was designated to develop a statement on needs and issues con-

cerning the utilization of social scientists in health agencies.

No action of the Council is requested at this time.

Respectfully submitted,
EDWARD A. SUCHMAN
ROBERT STRAUS

Report of the Representative to the Council of Census Users

At its Chicago meeting the Council asked the Association's representative "to continue his efforts to obtain release of data collected by the Federal Government but not released to the public because of political considerations." It will be recalled that following the report of this representative in 1958 the Association formally protested the action of the Department of Commerce in suppressing the full publication of national data on religious preference obtained by the Census Bureau in its 1957 Current Population Survey.

Unfortunately the position of the Department of Commerce and the Census Bureau on this matter has not changed. I have been informed by officers of the Census Bureau that reconsideration of the matter was thought unpropitious at a time when the Bureau was seeking the assistance of Congress and the cooperation of the public in taking the decennial Census.

In the course of the past year I have brought the matter to the attention of several relevant organizations including the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies (speech at its annual meeting in November) and the Social Science Research Council (in an informal talk at its April meeting).

The Council of Census Users met only once during the year, on December 14. The meeting was chiefly devoted to an exposition by the Census Bureau of its 1960 Census Program. A topic of special interest to sociologists is a proposal by the Population Association of America that a small-scale representative national sample from the 1960 Census returns, including detailed but anonymous records, be made available at cost for use by researchers in government agencies, private organizations, and universities. This sample "deck" of IBM cards would be very useful for both training and analytical purposes. It would make possible many experimental cross-tabulations that will not be undertaken in the regular Census program. I have written to the Director of the Census Bureau indicating warm interest and support for this proposal.

No Council action is recommended at this time.

Respectfully submitted,
DUDLEY KIRK

Liaison Report to the American Sociological Association on the National Association of Social Workers

The National Association of Social Workers membership has grown to about 27,000 in 1960. It is not known how many of them are sociologists. Many of them majored in sociology as undergraduates. In 1958, 53 members of the Social Work Research Section indicated that they were also Active members of the American Sociological Association.

There is considerable interest within the National Association of Social Workers in sociology and sociologists. Increasing numbers of the latter are being hired as teachers in Schools of Social Work, particularly at the doctoral level. References to sociological studies are becoming more common-place in social work courses. Consideration might be given to a meeting of such sociologists to discuss their professional roles and communication problems in Schools of Social Work.

In June of 1959 the Social Work Research Section sponsored an institute on "Social Science Theory and Social Work Research," with both sociologists and social workers participating. The proceedings have been published by the National Association of Social Workers. Negotiations are also under way for a reciprocal lowering of subscription rates for *Social Work*, the *American Sociological Review*, and *Sociometry* to members of the two associations.

The volume and quality of basic research on problems related to social work functions and organizations warrant that consideration be given to scheduling at future national meetings of the American Sociological Association a session on the "Sociology of Social Welfare."

There is a pronounced shortage of qualified personnel to fill research positions in community chests, councils, and other social welfare planning organizations. The Lilly Endowment, Inc. has given stipends for a one year post-master's program in community welfare research to the School of Social Welfare at Berkeley, the Graduate Department of Social Work and Social Research at Bryn Mawr, and the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Pittsburgh. Sociologists with master's degrees are eligible to apply.

There is continued discussion and concern among members of the National Association of

Social Workers with the pros and cons of certification or registration of social workers as a technique for the protection of professional standards. The American Sociological Association might consider offering its support if a specific proposal emerges from these discussions, while at the same time ascertaining that appropriate recognition is given to the role of sociologists in areas of action in which the two fields overlap.

Respectfully submitted,
JOSEPH W. EATON, Liaison Officer
American Sociological Association
and National Association of Social
Workers

**Report of the Representative to the National
Education Association Conference on
Teacher Education and Professional
Standards**

The Conference, held at the University of Kansas, June 23-26, 1959, focussed on the problem of curriculum programs for the education of teachers. The Conference was basically organized around sixty-four study groups that were asked to prepare reports on the general or specialized requirements that should be established for programs of teacher education. Some of the major ideas emerging from these study groups on which there appeared to be a substantial degree of consensus, according to the final report of the Conference, were:

1. There is a need for closer relationships between schools or departments of education and other parts of their institutions in developing programs in and the curriculum for teacher education.

2. Plans for more selective admission procedures in teacher education programs need to be developed.

3. A fifth year may be required in teacher training programs if teachers are to be provided with an adequate general education as well as professional education courses.

4. A major part of the students program should be devoted to general education courses, including the social sciences, the humanities, the physical sciences, and mathematics.

5. In view of variant institutional patterns for offering courses in general education, the universities and colleges need to work out their own programs.

6. All teachers, elementary as well as secondary teachers, should be expected to have "a respectable major" in addition to general education and specialized education courses.

7. The professional education courses to be

taken by teachers should include the historical, sociological, psychological, and philosophical foundations of education as well as courses in teaching methods and student teaching.

A report of the Conference activities was recently published by the National Education Association under the title, *The Education of Teachers: Curriculum Programs*. In addition to an overview of the Conference, it reports the major addresses presented at the meetings, conference working papers, and summaries of the group discussion meetings.

The next NEA Conference on Teacher Education and Professional Standards will be held in San Diego, California, in the latter part of June 1960. The theme of the 1960 Conference will be "The Education of Teachers: Roles of Certification and Accreditation." No Council action is required at this time.

Respectfully submitted,
NEAL GROSS

**Report on Activities of the Section on
Social Psychology**

The Section's first gathering was a business meeting on September 2, 1959, just prior to the regular sessions of the Association in Chicago. Regrettably, it was not possible for our Chairman, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., to be present. The meeting was chaired by Edgar F. Borgatta, serving as Dr. Cottrell's representative. The agenda was largely given over to reports to the membership from the several standing committees. The major subject of discussion from the floor was the report of the Membership Committee, which proposed standards for membership based upon specific criteria of demonstrated competence in social psychology. A number of members expressed reservations with the proposed criteria and the matter was referred to the Section Council for further consideration.

The Council of the Section met very briefly to consider the appropriate means of handling applications for Section membership pending the acceptance of specific criteria or a decision not to require such criteria beyond those contained in the By-laws. It was decided to have the Membership Committee accumulate and periodically review such applications, accepting those of persons who manifestly qualified by the most stringent criteria proposed and deferring action on all other applications, thus providing a basis for assessing the implications of the proposed criteria for membership. Subsequently this procedure has been followed, with

the assistance of the Executive Office, and steps have been taken to secure such information as to provide a basis for firm determination once a decision on criteria has been reached.

Membership in the Section reached 489 in 1959. Since then, slightly over 100 new applications for membership have been received, of which 19 have thus far been approved by the Membership Committee. It is anticipated that recommendations on criteria and on procedures to insure prompt handling of applications will be made by the Membership Committee at the 1960 business meeting of the Section. When approved by the Section Council and membership, the report of the Membership Committee will be submitted to the Council of the American Sociological Association for approval and publication in the *Review*.

The membership of the 1960 Committee on Nominations was as follows:

Manford H. Kuhn, Chairman
 Orville G. Brim, Jr.
 Alan C. Kerckhoff
 S. Frank Miyamoto
 George Psathas

The polling of the membership, carried out in June, resulted in election of the following Section officers:

Chairman-Elect (becomes Chairman for 1961 at close of New York meetings): Ralph Turner
 Members of Council, 1961-1963: Sanford Dornbusch, Anselm Strauss

It is hoped that, with the achievement of an organizational structure, the Section can turn more fully to the delineation of its professional role within the parent Association. The Section and the Council of the Association will have to work toward explicit understandings as to the part that Sections are to play in helping to organize appropriate portions of the annual meetings, and, closely related, the scheduling of Section meetings so as to permit the participation of members who are involved in the Council meetings of the Association. As Leonard Cottrell pointed out in his report of Section activities last year, relationships will have to be developed gradually. So, too, will a program of Section activities have to be evolved gradually to achieve the purposes for which the Section was organized. The Chairman earnestly solicits the suggestions of Section members and those of members of the Council of the Association as to appropriate activities and undertakings for this Section of the Association.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN A. CLAUSEN
Chairman

Report on Activities of the Section on Medical Sociology

The Section on Medical Sociology is an outgrowth of the earlier Committee on Medical Sociology. On petition of over 200 members of the Committee on Medical Sociology, who were also members of the American Sociological Association, the Council of the Association at its meeting in Chicago in 1959 authorized the establishment of the Section on Medical Sociology. Upon the formation of the Section, the Committee voted its own dissolution.

The Officers of the Section on Medical Sociology are: August B. Hollingshead, Chairman; Odin W. Anderson, Chairman-Elect; Samuel W. Bloom, Secretary-Treasurer; Everett C. Hughes, Benjamin Paul, and George Reader, Members on the Council.

The membership of the Section has grown to more than 500. The Officers of the Section prepared a Newsletter which was circulated through the Executive Office of the American Sociological Association in May 1960. A Census of Medical Sociologists is being taken. The Section plans to publish its compilation in November 1960.

The Annual Business Meeting of the Section will be held August 28. In this meeting the Officers will propose to the membership that the By-Laws of the Section be changed so that future elections will be held in coordination with the other Sections. However, the 1960 election will have to be held after the forthcoming meeting in New York. We believe we shall be able to work out organizational and professional problems with the Association and other Sections as they arise.

The Section's Officers have made two policy decisions regarding the program for this year's meeting. We decided not to have a program of research papers on the day set aside for Section Meetings. We believe that formal papers should be confined to the regular program of the American Sociological Association. We planned a panel discussion on "The Training of Medical Sociologists." This issue is of interest to a number of members. By limiting the program to a topic of special interest to the Section's members, we may be able to satisfy specialized needs and at the same time not weaken the regular program of the Association.

Respectfully submitted,

A. B. HOLLINGSHEAD
Chairman

**Report on Activities of the Section on
Methodology**

On petition of over 200 ASA members, the Council approved the establishment of the Section on Methodology at its Chicago meeting.

The present officers of the Section are Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Chairman; Daniel Price, Chair-elect; Robert F. McGinnis, Secretary-Treasurer. These officers together with the following named members of the Section constitute the Council of the Section: Edgar F. Borgatta, Sanford M. Dornbusch, Patricia Kendall, Leslie Kish, George Lundberg, and Shirley A. Star.

The following standing Committees were appointed for 1960:

Publications Committee

W. S. Robinson, Chairman
Linton C. Freeman
David Gold
Patricia Kendall
Edward A. Suchman

Committee on Methodology Sessions

Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Chairman
Edgar F. Borgatta
Leslie Kish
Shirley A. Star

Committee on Nominations

Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Chairman
Roy F. Francis
George Lundberg
Charles Y. Glock
Daniel Price

The Publications Committee recommends the establishment of a quarterly or semiannual journal oriented specifically toward sociological methodology—the application of methodological

rules and procedures to sociological inquiry—rather than to methodology in general. The Committee recognized the high cost of such publication and agrees that the present membership size of the Section does not warrant undertaking the subsidy of such a publication. It therefore petitions the Council for permission to negotiate for a subsidy, probably from a University Press.

The Nominations Committee conducted an election in which slightly more than three-fifths of the Section members voted. The following officers were elected:

Leslie Kish, Chairman-elect
William S. Robinson, Council member
Peter Rossi, Council member
Robert F. McGinnis, Secretary-treasurer

The Committee on Methodology Sessions expressed an awareness of the problem of developing program sessions conjointly with the chairmen appointed by the President and the Program Committee of the Association. It recognized the necessity of further exploration of a working agreement between the Section Committee and the Program Committee of the Association.

The Council of the Section appointed an *ad hoc* Committee on Membership: Robert F. McGinnis, chairman, Sanford M. Dornbusch and Theodore Anderson. The Committee proposes to have the membership vote on membership criteria at the 1960 annual business meeting.

Respectfully submitted,
ALBERT J. REISS, JR.
Chairman

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

**JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM
1893-1960**

Joseph Folsom, Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Vassar College, died suddenly on May 27, 1960, within a year of his retirement. Professor Folsom came into teaching and research in sociology with a B.S. in Civil Engineering from Rutgers University, 1913, an A.M. in Sociology from Clark University, 1915, and a Ph.D. in Psychology from Columbia University, 1917.

His teaching career began as Instructor in Physics at St. Lawrence University in 1914, and included two years (1919-1921) as Assistant Professor of Social Economy

at the University of Pittsburgh, two years (1922-1924) as Assistant Professor of Economics at Dartmouth College, and seven years (1924-1931) as Professor of Sociology at Sweet Briar College. He came to Vassar College as Professor of Sociology and Economics in 1931, and continued in the joint Department of Economics, Sociology and Anthropology until his retirement in 1959. He served as Visiting Professor at Columbia in 1940-1941, and was part-time Lecturer in Sociology at Boston University at the time of his death. He was to have taught sociology in Germany as a Fulbright Scholar in 1961.

In World War I, Joseph Folsom served

in the United States Army as Psychological Examiner. In 1920 he went to Czechoslovakia as Regional Director of the American YMCA and, upon his return, was Research Secretary of the Character Institution in Washington, D. C. On leave in 1944-1945, he served as Psychological Warfare Executive in the Office of War Information in this country and in England.

He was the author of several books and a contributor to others. His first two publications were written prior to his selection of the family as a field of specialization—*Culture and Social Progress* (1929) and *Social Psychology* (1931). He contributed two major books to the literature on marriage and family living—*The Family, Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry* in 1934 (revised as *The Family and Democratic Society* in 1943) and *Youth, Family and Education* (1941). He was editor and contributor to *Plan for Marriage* (1938) and contributor to *Sex Habits of American Men, a Symposium on the Kinsey Report* (1948) and to *Sexual Behavior in American Society* (1955). In 1937, he wrote the Introduction to *Modern Marriage and Family Living*.

In 1939, Professor Folsom was elected President of the Eastern Sociological Society, and from 1942 to 1944 he served as editor of the *American Sociological Review*, culminating this work with a special number devoted to "Recent Trends in the Soviet Union." He also did editorial work for the *Journal of Social Hygiene* from 1939, and for *Sociometry* from 1945 to 1953.

In his many articles appearing in professional and popular journals, one senses Professor Folsom's urgency to counsel and educate people in the skills of interpersonal association in order to help them increase their satisfactions in living. This concern for the distribution of useful information on the sociology of personality formation within the family is borne out by his administrative and consultative roles in such organizations as the *National Congress of Parents and Teachers* (Parent Education Chairman, 1949-1951), the *National Council on Parent Education* (Chairman, 1939-1943), the *National Conference on Family Life* and the *National Council of Family Relations* (member of the Executive Committee) and in the White House Conferences of 1940 and 1950.

He was a founder of the *American Association of Marriage Counselors* and an Affiliate member.

At the time of his death, Professor Folsom had almost completed an introductory social science text, *Society for Man*, which was to be interdisciplinary in approach. He was also working on a book on the family to be called *The Family—Riding the Pendulum*.

In matters of educational policy discussed by Vassar faculty members and in his classroom teaching, Joseph Folsom was creative, experimental, and of liberal outlook to the end. He was a gentle man who believed deeply in the moral value of equality between the sexes and in democratic family patterns that permit each family member to grow in personal stature. The test of sociological theory for him, lay in its usefulness to men as a guide to self-fulfilment. Once he said, in tribute to Ernest Groves what can now be said of Joseph Folsom himself: "in [his] life . . . we may read this meaning: that family living can be made better through science, if it be guided by the faith that man was not made for the family, but the family for man."

LESLIE ALICE KOEMPEL

Vassar College

CLYDE KLUCKHOHN

1905-1960

Clyde Kluckhohn died suddenly on July 28th in Santa Fe, New Mexico. His friends had known that he had suffered from a serious heart condition for many years, but subject to that there had been nothing unusual about his state of health until he underwent a severe attack the day before his death.

Professor Kluckhohn was not only one of the few leading American anthropologists of his generation, but one of those who did most to establish the present level of close interdisciplinary relationships with its academic neighbors, among which sociology and psychology figure most prominently. This aspect of his many-sided career and influence, which is of particular interest to sociologists, was perhaps most conspicuously evidenced in his role as one of the principal planners and founders of the Department and Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard, and as the

leading senior anthropologist in that department since its foundation in 1946. He was also highly instrumental in promoting and organizing interdisciplinary work involving a number of sociologists through his directorship of the Russian Research Center at Harvard for its first five years, from 1948 to 1953 and, among a variety of other research enterprises, his paramount role in the comparative study of values in five cultures which was carried out in New Mexico from 1949 to 1954.

Clyde Kluckhohn was born in Le Mars, Iowa. He prepared for college at Lawrenceville Academy and began his undergraduate studies at Princeton. These were interrupted, however, by ill health and, only after an interval, concluded at the University of Wisconsin. But this was one of the "ill winds . . ." of legend, since Kluckhohn went to New Mexico for his health and in this connection developed his first interest in anthropology through the presence of the Navajo in the immediate neighborhood of his sojourn.

After graduation from Wisconsin he went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, where he came in contact with R. R. Marrett among others, and subsequently spent a year at the University of Vienna, studying both anthropology and psychoanalysis. Following a brief teaching interval at the University of New Mexico he came to Harvard to complete his graduate work. After receiving the Ph.D. in 1936, his whole formal academic career was spent at Harvard.

The cosmopolitan catholicity of Kluckhohn's choice of places of education was matched by that of his substantive interests. His undergraduate concentration was in classics, with special reference to Greek. This, combined with the linguistic problems of anthropological work, led him into linguistics which was one of his main lifelong scientific interests. He became thoroughly schooled in physical anthropology and its foundations in general biology and was an important contributor here. He was one of the very first social scientists to undertake a serious study of psychoanalytic theory and its possible relevance to anthropology, an undertaking which included a personal analysis in Vienna. This interest paid off in a number of his anthropological studies, but

particularly perhaps in his notable monograph on *Navajo Witchcraft* (1944).

The main trend of Kluckhohn's intellectual interests, however, more and more came to focus on the problems of culture in relation to human behavior and, within this field, in particular the study of values. For a considerable period he was accounted one of the leading members of the "culture and personality" school of thought, but he transcended this framework in his later years in an altogether original approach to the study of values. This crystallized in connection with the comparative study referred to above, and was much further developed in an important essay on American values and in recent theoretical papers.

With this increasingly definite focus on values, however, certainly Professor Kluckhohn was, for his generation the *general anthropologist par excellence*, a role which was expressed on the more popular level by his *Mirror for Man* (1949). This role as generalist for anthropology was intimately connected with his concern for and receptivity to the interests of the neighboring disciplines, which was such a conspicuous feature of his career.

It was not only intellectually, in the more strictly academic sense, that Kluckhohn was an individual of many and diverse interests and talents. He was an academic administrator of the highest capacity, as evidenced, for example, by his most unusual contribution as Director of the Russian Research Center. He was a man of the most balanced and penetrating judgment and therefore was much in demand, with respect to university and foundation matters, to be sure, but above all, in the field of public affairs where he was a consultant in many different connections and on the highest levels. Furthermore he was not only a student of his beloved Navajo, but one of their most powerful friends in their complicated relations to the Federal government, a cause to which he devoted untold exertions. That he also was a man of extraordinary personal magnetism and charm, all who have been privileged to know him can testify.

Kluckhohn's major contribution to sociology from the vantage-point of his deep commitment to anthropology, was in particular brought to focus in the intellectual

partnership which was one important aspect of his marriage to Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn, a distinguished sociologist in her own right who has for a number of years been a leading member of the sociological group in the Department of Social Relations. This marriage both symbolized and promoted the fundamental unity of the behavioral sciences of which Clyde Kluckhohn's career is a major monument. His death—and that of his close friend and colleague, Samuel A. Stouffer, which took place less than a month later—creates a void in this field which can never be filled, not only at Harvard, but in the national and international fields of social science.

TALCOTT PARSONS

Harvard University

**LOUIS BURTON LAUGHLIN
1908-1960**

The academic career of "Jack" Laughlin was interrupted by illness on several occasions. Professor Laughlin began his academic training late in life. He received his A.B. in history from the University of Western Ontario in 1938. He pursued a career in social service and taught, part-time, at what was then Assumption College, Windsor, Ontario. In 1948, he joined the sociology staff at the University of Detroit. After receiving the M.A. in sociology from Wayne University in 1951, Professor Laughlin continued to teach at the Detroit and the Providence Hospital School of Nursing. He began his study for the Ph.D. in anthropology at the University of New Mexico in 1953; this venture was interrupted by illness.

At the time of his death in January 1960, Professor Laughlin was Head, Department of Sociology, Detroit Institute of Technology. Despite his lingering illness, he remained in good spirits and dedicated himself as a classroom teacher. Many students were launched on sociological careers through the direction of Jack Laughlin.

LEONARD W. MOSS

Wayne State University

December Conferences. The following conferences are scheduled for this month: American Economic Association, Saint Louis, December

28-30; Econometric Society, Saint Louis, December 28-30; American Association for the Advancement of Science, Philadelphia, December 26-31; Industrial Relations Research Society, December 28-30.

World Congress of Psychiatry. The Third World Congress will be held June 4-10, 1961, in Montreal, Canada, at the invitation of McGill University and under the auspices of the Canadian Psychiatric Association. Representatives from 62 nations are expected from psychiatry and such allied fields as general medical practice, psychology, biochemistry, nursing, sociology, anthropology, social work, and pharmacology. Information regarding the program and registration may be obtained by writing the General Secretary, III World Congress of Psychiatry, 1025 Pine Avenue West, Montreal 2, P.Q., Canada.

American Association for the Advancement of Science. A symposium of Section O (Agriculture) on land-zoning in relation to agricultural, suburban, industrial, forest, and recreational needs of the future will be held at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, December 27-30, 1960.

The American Sociological Association, in cooperation with Section K, American Association for the Advancement of Science, announces the following meetings:

December 28, 1960, 9:00 A.M. Session on SOCIOLOGY OF SCIENCE: THE ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH, *Chairman and Session Organizer*, Vincent H. Whitney, University of Pennsylvania. Speakers and titles of papers are Simon Marson, Princeton University and Rutgers University, "Organization and Authority in the Industrial Research Laboratory;" William Evan, Bell Telephone Laboratories, "Organizational Pressures and Role Strains in the Industrial Laboratory;" Norman Kaplan, Cornell University, "Research Administration and the Administrator: The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.;" David N. Solomon and Silvia Lamb, McGill University, "Industrial Scientists and the Values of Science."

December 29, 1960, 9:00 A.M. Session on POPULATION TRENDS AND POLICIES IN THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES (joint with The Population Association of America), *Chairman and Session Organizer*, Vincent H. Whitney, University of Pennsylvania. Speakers and titles of papers are Jerry W. Combs, Jr., Foreign Manpower Research Office, Bureau of the Census, "Population Change and Policy in Eastern Europe;" John F. Kantner, The Population Council, "Demographic Development of the Soviet Union;" Irene Taeuber, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, "Communism, Culture, and Population—China as a Case Study."

These meetings will be held December 26-31, 1960, at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City.

Illinois Academy of Criminology. At the Tenth Annual Meeting held at Northwestern University in May, 1960, the following officers were elected: Solomon Kobrin, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, President; Francis A. Allen, University of Chicago Law School, Bernard F.

Robinson, Illinois Reformatory for Women, and S. Kirsch Weinberg, Roosevelt University, Vice Presidents; Harvey Treger, United States Probation Service, Secretary; Harold Finestone, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, Treasurer; G. Lewis Penner, Juvenile Protective Association, Archivist; and Charles H. Shireman, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Program Chairman.

The five meetings this year will be devoted to an assessment of the prospects for constructive change during the decade of the sixties in the areas of prevention, correction, and criminal law. Inquiries about the dates and locations of these meetings should be addressed to Harvey Treger, United States Probation Service, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago 4, Illinois. Membership in the Academy is open to all persons with a professional interest in the field of criminology.

Kansas City Study of Adult Life. Wayne Wheeler, who has resigned as Chairman of the Department of Sociology, Park College, has become Field Director of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life. The Study is a project of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. Wheeler is succeeded at Park College by Paul C. P. Siu, formerly of Kansas Wesleyan University.

Midwest Sociological Society. Newly elected officers for the current year are Ruth Shonle Cavan, Rockford College, President, and Raymond W. Mack, Northwestern University, Vice-President. Wayne Wheeler, of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life, continues as Secretary-Treasurer and Paul J. Campisi, Southern Illinois University, has succeeded Joseph K. Johnson as Editor of *The Sociological Quarterly*. Harold W. Saunders of the State University of Iowa has been chosen to be the Society's representative on the Council of the American Sociological Association, replacing George W. Vold, University of Minnesota. Current state representatives on the Society's executive committee are Benjamin J. Keeley, William F. Kenkel, E. Gordon Erickson, Richard Videbeck, William L. Kolb, Warren A. Peterson, Courtney B. Cleland, Edward Saylor, and Douglas G. Marshall.

The next annual meeting of the Society will be held in Omaha, Nebraska, April 27-29, 1961. E. G. McCurtain, University of Omaha, is chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

The Population Council, Inc. Fellowships for study in population at the predoctoral and postdoctoral levels are available to qualified students from all countries; particular consideration is given to students from the economically underdeveloped areas. Applicants should have completed at least one year of graduate study beyond the college level, and have sufficient training in the social sciences to do graduate work in demography. The deadline for receipt of completed applications for the 1961-1962 academic year is February 1, 1961. For further information and application forms, write to: The

Population Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Western New York Sociological Society. The following officers have been elected for 1960-1961: President, Gerhard J. Falk, State University of New York; Vice-President, Constantine Yeracaris, University of Buffalo; Secretary-Treasurer, Thomas Imse, Canasius College.

Adelphi College. Frank F. Lee was appointed Chairman of the Department, effective September 1, 1960. He replaces Louise Ware, who continues as Director of Sociological Research.

University of Arkansas. Guerdon D. Nichols, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of which the Department of Sociology and Anthropology is a member, was presented the Alexander Meiklejohn Award for Academic Freedom at the annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors, Detroit, in April, 1960.

Gary Maranell, Assistant Professor of Sociology, served as research associate for the City Planning Division of the University during the summer, 1960.

Stephen Stephan, Professor of Sociology, was elected by the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church to a three-year term on the Counseling Committee for Social Education and Action.

Fred W. Voget, Professor of Anthropology, is on leave for a second year as Visiting Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto, where he is continuing research in acculturation among the Iroquois of Ontario. Hans Hoffman, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, is Visiting Professor, replacing Voget.

Charles R. McGimsey, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, directed the archaeological field session, summer, 1960, at the site of the area in northwest Arkansas which will be inundated with the building of the Beaver Dam on the White River.

Brandeis University. Lewis A. Coser, recently promoted to the rank of professor, has been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to visit the Institute for Social Research in Oslo during the second semester. Lawrence Frank will replace Coser during his absence.

On leave of absence for the year are Suzanne Keller, who is continuing research on the formation of elite ideologies and attitudes, and Morris S. Schwartz, who is at Stanford University.

Edward T. Sherwood, formerly of the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and Rhodes University, Grahamstown, has joined the Department as Lecturer in Sociology; Robert S. Weiss, formerly of the University of Chicago, has joined the staff as Assistant Professor; Alvin D. Zalinger, of Boston University, is teaching during the first semester.

Maurice R. Stein has been promoted to Associate Professor.

Kurt H. Wolff, formerly of Ohio State University, has been serving as Chairman and Professor of Sociology since September, 1959.

University of California, Berkeley. John A. Clausen, of the National Institute of Mental Health,

has been appointed Professor of Sociology and Director of the Institute of Human Development.

David Matza, formerly of Temple University, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology, and Anselm Strauss, formerly of the University of Chicago, has been appointed Associate Professor of Sociology in the School of Nursing.

Herbert F. Schurmann, Hanan C. Selvin, and Neil J. Smelser have been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor, and Philip Rieff, Associate Professor of Speech, is also serving as Lecturer in Sociology.

S. D. Clark, of the University of Toronto, Albert K. Cohen, of the University of Indiana, Gino Germani, of the University of Buenos Aires, and Cesar Grana, of the University of Chicago, are Visiting Professors during the academic year.

Three members of the department are on leave for the academic year: Seymour Martin Lipset, at Yale University, as the Henry Ford Research Professor of Political Science; Herbert Franz Schurmann, in Hong Kong conducting research on Communist organizational methods on a Guggenheim Fellowship; and Philip Selznick, at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Members on leave for one semester during 1960-1961 include: Wolfram Eberhard, now in Burma on an Asia Foundation grant; Leo Lowenthal, William Petersen, and Neil J. Smelser, as members of the Center for Social Science Theory; Erving Goffman; William A. Kornhauser; and Martin A. Trow, as a member of the research staff of the Center for the Study of Higher Education.

William L. Nicholls, II, and Hanan C. Selvin have joined the staff of the Berkeley Survey Research Center on a part-time basis.

Robert Blauner, Warren Hagstrom, and Ingeborg Powell have been awarded SSRC predoctoral research fellowships for 1960-1961.

University of Illinois. Mark G. Field, of the Harvard University Russian Research Center, has been appointed Associate Professor of Sociology. A portion of his work will be in the Department of Sociology and a portion in the Center for Russian Language and Area Studies.

Bernard Lazerwitz, formerly of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, and Guenther Roth, from the University of California, Berkeley, have been appointed Assistant Professors of Sociology. John Clark, from Ohio State University, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology.

Bernard Farber served as Co-chairman of the Conference on Direction of Future Sociological Research on Mental Retardation, sponsored by the National Association for Retarded Children and held in Baltimore in May, 1960.

Robert Janes has received, jointly with Charles McIntyre, Co-ordinator of Instructional Television, a three-year grant from the United States Office of Education for experimental study of the use of television for open-circuit campus instruction.

Bernard Karsh is the recipient of a Fulbright grant as Lecturer in Sociology at Keio University, Tokyo, Japan, for the academic year 1960-1961.

David E. Lindstrom, Head of the Division of

Rural Sociology, Department of Agricultural Economics, and Professor of Rural Sociology in the Department of Sociology, will be technical consultant for the Rural Sociology and Extension Wing of the College of Agriculture at Jabalpur, M. P., India, under the University-ICA-Government of India contract, for two years beginning in September, 1960. He solicits notices of publications in this country and any materials thought to be of use to him in this assignment.

University of Miami. Thomas Carroll, of the University of Minnesota, joined the staff in September as Instructor. William W. Stein received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for the analysis of data collected in a Peruvian mental hospital. Rosalie Wax is Director of the Workshop on American Indian Affairs. Murray Wax and Aaron Lipman continue in collaborative research with the School of Medicine's Geriatrics Clinic. Bryce Ryan spent the month of June in Israel under a grant by the American Faculty Committee on the Israel Fellowship program.

University of Minnesota, Duluth. Robert G. Schmidt has been promoted to Associate Professor. Holger R. Stub has received grants-in-aid for research from the Graduate School to study "The Social Origins of Contemporary Church Leaders," and "The Social Structure of the Teaching and Administrative Staff of a Public School."

University of North Carolina. Harry J. Crockett, Jr. joined the Department in September as Assistant Professor.

Donald P. Irish of Ohio Wesleyan University, who taught in the 1960 summer session, is remaining during the 1960-1961 academic year to collaborate with Charles E. Bowerman in studies of adolescent orientations.

Richard L. Simpson has begun a four-year study of factors related to occupational self-images among school teachers. The study is supported by the United States Office of Education.

Ernest Q. Campbell has received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for a three-year study of adolescent socialization processes, with special reference to the internalization of norms related to drinking.

S. H. Hobbs, Jr. has retired as Professor, but will continue to teach part-time and to conduct research on rural society.

The Department conducted a program of undergraduate research participation during the summer of 1960, under a grant from the National Science Foundation. Five undergraduate students from the University of North Carolina and Wooster College took part in research on adolescent orientations, changing roles and attitudes of southern Negroes, and therapeutic resocialization of retarded children in a state training school. Faculty members who worked with the undergraduate participants were Ann C. Maney, Daniel O. Price, Ruth Searles, Richard L. Simpson, and Charles E. Bowerman, Director of the program.

The Social Research Section of the Division of Health Affairs, under the joint sponsorship of the

Institute for Research in Social Science, is in its ninth year of training graduate students of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for research in the sociology of health, of mental health, and of the health professions. The work of the Section is integrated with the degree-granting requirements of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Funds for research assistants and trainees in the program have come from the Russell Sage Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, and the National Institute of Mental Health. Harvey L. Smith is Director and Ann C. Maney is Assistant Director of the Section.

Northern Illinois University. Waldo W. Burchard has been named Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, and James G. Martin has been promoted to Associate Professor.

David H. Howard returned in September after a year's leave of absence to complete his doctorate at Indiana University.

Thomas D. Eliot, Visiting Professor of Sociology for the 1959-1960 academic year, gave a series of public lectures on the culture of Norway.

University of Pittsburgh. Burkhart Holzner, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has joined the Department as Assistant Professor.

University of Rhode Island. L. Guy Brown has retired after 14 years at the University, the last 13 of which he served as Department Head. The new Chairman is Ralph W. England, Jr., formerly of the University of Illinois.

Irving A. Spaulding and Robert V. Gardner have been promoted to Professor and Associate Professor, respectively. Assistant Professors Arthur H. Richardson and Erwin H. Johnson are the other staff members. Under faculty research grants, Richardson is studying dimensions of alienation among selected groups, and Johnson is making an archaeological survey of an Indian site in Rhode Island.

Smith College. Peter I. Rose, formerly of Goucher College, and Howard Brotz, formerly of the University of Minnesota, have joined the Department as Assistant Professors. Richard Slobodin has been appointed Lecturer.

Ely Chinoy has been elected Chairman for a three-year term.

Allen Kassof is on leave for 1960-1961 as a post-doctoral fellow of the Russian Research Center of Harvard University.

State University of South Dakota. Carroll M. Mickey, Chairman of the Department, has recently published the first part of a series of reports to the South Dakota Governor's Committee for the White House Conference on Aging under the aegis of the University's Social Research Center, in connection with the White House Conference on Aging Act. Edwin A. Christ is engaged in preliminary work in connection with mental health research in cooperation with the South Dakota Mental Health Association, the University's Social Research Center, and the Government Research Bureau.

The Department now includes Professor Mickey, Associate Professors Neil M. Palmer and Wesley R. Hurt, and Assistant Professors Edwin A. Christ and Irvin E. Larson.

University of Southern California. Otis Dudley Duncan was Visiting Professor of Sociology during the summer session. Thomas E. Lasswell was Visiting Professor at Northwestern University during the summer. Harold A. Nelson, who was Visiting Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Nevada during the summer, has been appointed Assistant Professor at Colorado State College. Harold G. Hubbard is associated with George Fry and Associates, management consultants.

Edward C. McDonagh, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, has been appointed Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences.

An Erle F. Young Memorial Library is being established at Bar Ilan University in Ramat Gan, Israel, in memory of Dr. Erle Fiske Young, who taught sociology at the University of Southern California from 1924 to 1953. Recent sociology books are needed for this collection. They may be mailed direct to The Librarian, Bar Ilan University, and designated for the Erle F. Young Memorial Library. Names of authors and titles of the books may be sent to Dr. Pauline V. Young, Bar Ilan University.

The April meeting of Alpha of California chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta, the national sociology honor society, combined the spring initiation of new members with a celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the society and of the chapter. Emory S. Bogardus, Dean Emeritus of the Graduate School of the University of Southern California and Past President of the American Sociological Association, founder of both the United Chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta and the Alpha of California chapter, spoke on the forty years' contribution of Alpha Kappa Delta to sociology.

Syracuse University. Nathan Goldman, Professor of Sociology, has completed a study of vandalism for the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Wisconsin State College, Superior. John E. Owen has been appointed Professor of Sociology with the UNESCO Technical Assistance Mission in Social Science at the University of Dacca, Pakistan. During the past summer he taught at the University of Manitoba, Canada.

Washington University. A weekly research seminar on international conflict and peace is being held during the fall semester, as part of a research program administered by the Social Science Institute of the University. Among the participants are the following scholars: Alvin W. Gouldner, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and Nicholas J. Demerath, Director of the Social Science Institute; John P. Gillin, Dean of the Social Science Division of the University of Pittsburgh; and Seymour M. Lipset of the University of California, Berkeley.

REVIEW ARTICLE*

VALUES, POLITICS, AND SOCIOLOGY

WILLIAM L. KOLB

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It is a safe assumption, I believe, that almost all American sociologists as Americans share the values of rationality and freedom with which C. Wright Mills is concerned in *The Sociological Imagination*. What is problematic, however, is the future of these values as realizable aspects of life in American society and in turn the relation of sociologists, as sociologists, to their loss or their continued existence in the modern world. Mills holds that the main drift of American social structure toward great bureaucracies in politics, economic organization, and the military and the corresponding rise of irresponsible power elites have already destroyed much freedom and rationality and threaten to create the "cheerful robot." He further holds that "grand theory," "abstracted empiricism," and the shift from "liberal practicality" to "bureaucratic practicality" as major trends in sociology contribute in various ways to such destruction and threat. Against these trends in sociology he places "the sociological imagination" which locates each man and his milieu within the context of social structure, so that the sociologists may inform the elites and then hold them responsible and at the same time educate at least some members of the non-elite in the possibilities of political action. He believes it probable that such a course for sociologists may well fail, but that it is the only course for those still dedicated to freedom and rationality in our time. Thus *The Sociological Imagination* is a serious indictment and a serious proposal seriously made, and as such it must be considered. At the same time, a serious response—as Mills himself agrees—may find his conception of modern society in error and his charges against sociology at least partially mistaken. Integrity of purpose does not guarantee the correctness of conclusions.

I

"Grand theory" for Mills is represented by Talcott Parsons' *The Social System*. His ap-

parent charge against this work is that what should be a "moment" in the task of social science—the elaboration and clarification of concepts—has become an obsession; and that this obsession prevents the theorist from observing concrete social structures as demanded by the sociological imagination. This charge can be sustained only by ignoring the imaginative use of action theory in the analysis of social structures by Parsons, as in his recent *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* and his earlier essays, and by others such as Robin Williams in his *American Society*. Concern with action theory has not prevented concern with the intersection of biography and history, of social structure and milieus.

Mills' real disagreement with Parsons is with the latter's view of modern society and with the value-consensus concept from which Mills believes Parsons' view derives. At the concrete level Mills is at least partially correct when he claims that Parsons does not adequately grasp the threat of bureaucratic concentrations of power to freedom and rationality. Parsons regards power as a generalized facility or resource in society and its collective or societal functions as primary and the problems of distribution or conflicts which power poses as secondary. It is extremely doubtful, as Ralf Dahrendorf has argued, that power, because of the theoretical model employed, should be approached primarily in relation to its societal functions rather than in relation to the functions it performs for dominant groups.

It is equally doubtful, however, that in any integrated society power may ever be treated without relating it to moral consensus or that treating it in this manner necessarily leads to understressing its distributive and conflict aspects. It is ironical that Mills, dedicated to the values of freedom and rationality, treats values primarily as legitimations for established power relations, not as dynamic elements in the shaping of social structures or as genuinely controlling and integrative elements in any society possessing a degree of integration. This failure to appreciate the importance of values and commitment to values blinds Mills to the real problems in Parsons' current theoretical posi-

* *The Sociological Imagination*. By C. Wright Mills, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. 234 pp. \$6.00.

tion which grow not out of the stress on values and consensus, but derive from such stress being placed within the totally restrictive context of *system* and *equilibrium* theory.

In Parsons' *The Structure of Social Action* men were first of all free agents who could create a society *provided* the values and the non-empirical grounds of values to which they committed themselves were common values and common grounds. Society was moral in its character *before* moral values were societal. Such men were motivated to a great degree by the desire for power, prestige, and wealth, so that unless they could create a set of common values and common ends, the war of all against all would prevail. It was further implied that while value commitment was always at least partially genuine, these values and the institutions built upon them were constantly subject to the bombardments of divisive interests, and that to a considerable degree the values, institutions, and religions in which they were grounded could be distorted by these interests. Finally, it was implied that since men were committed to values first and to the society constituted by the values second, they could relate themselves critically either to the values or the society on the basis of reason, faith, and free commitment. Within this context such phenomena as power, social control, and socialization could be properly placed, and it would be a matter of empirical determination in each case as to whether shared values were controlling power or simply rationalizing it.

In system and equilibrium theory this has changed. The social system, not men, is the basic point of reference. Men are born into an already going social system and the values which serve to integrate it—where do they come from?—are internalized through the process of socialization. In this frame of reference the *only* way in which men may become critical of the moral consensus or the social system is through the process of alienation; and alienation in any serious measure will occur only in cases of unsuccessful socialization or if there are serious inconsistencies in the social structure. The study of social control or system maintenance has become the whole of sociology. Within this frame of reference power *must* be treated *primarily* in relation to its societal functions. I would hold that neither Mills' underestimation of values nor Parsons' current absorption of man into the social system is adequate to the understanding of American society.

II

In his attack on "abstracted empiricism" and "bureaucratic practicality" Mills describes

an empirical clustering of social and intellectual elements in sociology which to some undetermined degree actually exists: interviewing; statistical categories; psychologism; a narrow philosophy of natural science, a crude empiricist conception of the nature of theory and a building-block conception of the accumulation of scientific knowledge; bureaucratization of social research; methodological arrogance; administrative use of research findings; the manipulation of human beings in directions and through means antithetical to rationality and freedom. Because of his own sociologism and his own image of power and bureaucracy in American society, he fails to realize that his description is a very abstract picture of *one* set of interrelations among these and other elements of sociology. One cannot derive from any one of these elements, even that of bureaucratization, all of the other elements as they exist at the empirical level, and then proceed to set against them the only true sociologists who, employing the sociological imagination, relate social structure to milieu, educate the victims of social structure, and hold elites responsible. Insofar as the elements described do cohere into the complex that Mills decries, they must be opposed; and in that opposition will be included those who study great structures with less precise methods, those who stress sociology as a humanistic discipline, and those who feel that the *major* use of sociology must be that of emancipating the ordinary man through increasing his knowledge of the society he lives in. And such men must oppose methodological arrogance on the part of those using more precise methods, the restriction of sociology to one type of study, the discouragement in graduate schools of the emergent social critic, the uses of social science for purposes of manipulation, and the continued use of images of man which make manipulation seem the only option. But within such a context there is certainly also need for studies carried out with the greatest mathematical and logical precision; for the securing of responses of people to interviews; for bureaucratized team research; for expertise, administrative use of research, and bureaucratic practicality. In any science there are those who cannot develop to the full the imaginative sweep of that science, although it should be spread among as many as possible. More important still, not all those who have the imagination of their science will wish or need to work in other than the more prosaic tasks of that science. I cannot imagine any science past its infancy that will not give rise to some degree of expertise and the technical use of that expertise through organized expert activity. We may perhaps criticize the social

worker or the family sociologist for the narrow image of man with which he is currently working—an image which comes from some one else's mistaken sociological imagination, but until the perfect society exists we will need those who will use social science to help individuals to live in their milieux. Their task is not simply to "adjust" the individual, but to help him live until the social structure is modified, so that the milieu may be changed beyond the limits imposed by the present structure. The social worker must be prevented, if possible, from becoming a manipulator of the individual for the sake of any power structure, but this cannot be done by reading out of the ranks of social scientists all those who do not adopt the role of major social critic.

If all this be so then the problem of administrative research and bureaucratic practicality becomes one of the ethical decisions and responsibilities of each participant. At the simplest level it is a matter of who is doing what to whom, for what purpose, for whom, and by what methods. At a deeper level it is a question of what bureaucratic structures, if any, are dedicated to increasing the freedom and rationality both of their participants and their clients; and whether the organization of these bureaucracies and the image of man and society which informs the social science they use sustain the possibility of human freedom. The same questions in somewhat different form confront the "grand theorist" and the possessor of the sociological imagination.

III

There finally remains to be considered whether or not Mills' stark image of American society as one dominated by bureaucratic structures and power elites hostile to freedom and rationality and productive of the cheerful robot is true. I have already commented on his failure to grasp the dynamism and integrative force of values and on his highly abstract mode of sociologism. Frankly I do not believe that any man in the modern world, social scientist or not, possessed of the sociological imagination or not, really comprehends either the social structure of modern America or the total welter of actions and strivings that constitutes the lives of its people. It is possible through the use of different kinds of sociological models and images of man to construct a picture of the society which will order certain ranges of data. Through stress on power and the struggle for power and through the use of a model of the relationship of person, milieu, and social structure not too different from that of system and equilibrium theory except for its stress on

power and power groups, Mills has constructed a picture of American society in *The Sociological Imagination* and other works which does order certain data. There are growing bureaucracies, there is an increasing concentration of power in these bureaucracies, there are relations among them, there is a problem of democratic participation within the structure of bureaucracies, and a problem of the impact of decisions made by bureaucratic elites on the rest of the population. If, as Mills has done, one constructs an "historical individual" on the basis of these data through the use of a power model in which the self is purely the product of the social structure, the result is the one Mills has achieved.

My own image of American society is different. It is like Parsons' in the sense that I believe there is moral consensus, in part around the values of freedom and rationality. It is unlike his in that I do not see the society primarily as a self-sustaining system but as a community of men trying to organize their lives according to certain beliefs which their ancestors created in their conditioned freedom and which they have at least the partial capacity freely to choose or reject despite the mechanisms of socialization and social control. It is like Mills' in that I see men in part using these values to which they are committed to rationalize their economic and other interests and I see the threat that functional rationality of organization may pose for the substantive rationality of the individual. It is unlike Mills' in that I see many other things as well. Out of the moral consensus, the rationalizations, and the struggle for power, I see a rising level of living, better working conditions, better health, increasing literacy and education, some symptoms of what Edward Shils has called the politics of civility. I see upper-class students struggling with their class conditioning, criticizing their values, trying to meet people across the lines of class. I see more volunteer people than ever participating in politics. I see many men, perhaps most of those I know, struggling to accept responsibility for their own lives and their own time. They are hindered by all the things Mills describes, but I have seen few cheerful robots. I even see the social structure changing in other ways than that of the increasing concentration of power; not all at once and in a total fashion but here and there under the responsible political action of men within the framework of democratic institutions. I have seen a renascence in Jewish and Christian theology which takes seriously the Judaic-Christian's god's demand for allegiance to rationality and freedom, to justice and love, not because they integrate society—they may dis-

integrate some societies and certainly some aspects of our own—but because they are right; and I have even seen some ministers and some laymen take that theology seriously.

Which image of man, which image of human society, which picture of American society is right? Whose sociological imagination shall we trust? Mills' call for some to return to the classic task of sociology is needed. The *center* of sociology is the sociological imagination: the dedication to social criticism; the use of sociology, primarily by direct education, secondarily through the use of experts and bureaucracies, to make man more free and more rational. But this imagination must be flexible and not dogmatic. It must attempt to include all facets of man's action, neither imprisoning him within the confines of an all-absorbing social system nor reducing his self to the im-

peratives of whatever the social structure may be. It must accept the division of labor in science and inform that division of labor with its own vision of man. It must throw its net as widely as possible over the social facts of contemporary American life, while yet trying to assess the significance of such facts. It must accept the reality of man's freedom and the seriousness of his commitments, while still recognizing his capacity to rationalize his own interests. If this is done it seems to me that a conception of sociology and a relationship to American society emerges in which one can be dedicated to freedom and rationality, be critical of one's own discipline without being alienated from it, and be critical of American life while still believing that it made and still makes a difference whether Kennedy or Nixon was elected.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait. By MORRIS JANOWITZ. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. xiv, 464 pp. \$6.75.

Military institutions are part of the social structure. The latter does not change, technologically, economically, or in other respects, without effect on the former. Similarly, war as a social activity bears the mark of the ways in which the nations that wage it are socially organized. Finally, since doctrines of war, strategies, and tactics are not entirely rational solutions of military problems but also imply assumptions about motivations and attitudes toward values, they can be analyzed by sociologists in much the same way in which other ideologies can be studied with regard to the biases and preferences they contain. The military establishment as an integral part of society, the forms of war, and military doctrine comprise the three major parts of military sociology.

In the present volume, Morris Janowitz has made an important contribution to this field of social study. In particular, he has shed new light on the development of the American military profession in the last fifty years in relation to American society and its political institutions. The chapters on the changing social background, skill distribution, and career patterns of military officers contain new insights and data.

With the new prominence which the military "manager" and the technical expert have attained—second only to the "heroic leader"—in the military elite, the basis of discipline has changed in the military establishment. It has moved away from domination by authority toward persuasion, manipulation, and the sustenance of initiative and morale. Recruitment of officers has been broadened at the same time to permit access from lower strata to the military elite. Perhaps the two most important propositions of the book are, first, that this broadened social base of the profession poses serious political problems for unchallenged civilian control of the military—such problems did not exist as long as the military elite was socially more exclusive; and second, that the career of the most distinguished military leaders deviate from the rigid pattern of advancement usually associated with promotion in the military establishment.

In addition to historical, documentary, and biographical sources, Janowitz has used three

sets of primary data in furnishing quantitative evidence for many of his propositions: (1) a historical sample of 760 generals and admirals covering the years 1910, 1920, 1935, and 1950 (data on the contemporary period were gathered by means of a questionnaire sent to the members of the sample); (2) 576 returns of the questionnaire from Army, Navy, and Air Force officers, administered by Professors Masland and Radway in 1954, were reanalyzed; and (3) 113 officers on duty at the three service headquarters were intensively interviewed by the author.

The book also contains accounts of the military style of life, etiquette and ceremony, and the code of military honor. These accounts are informative and free of traditional civilian bias. Three other chapters deal with the activities of the military in American political life. There are useful summaries of, and many original observations on, such topics as the relation between the services and the Congress, inter-service rivalry, the professional service associations, employment of high ranking officers in civilian jobs after retirement from military life, and the public relations and indoctrination activities of the military.

Janowitz's comments on political warfare activities, while particularly suggestive on military aid, are less adequate on the impact of modern weapons on diplomacy.

In my opinion, the least satisfactory part of the study is that treating the political and military doctrines of the military elite (Chapters 12 and 14-16). Janowitz explores in considerable detail the proposition that association in World War II with MacArthur and Marshall respectively has deeply influenced post-war conflicts over strategic doctrine. Although this idea is interesting, Janowitz makes too much of it. He distinguishes between an "absolutist" (MacArthur-Foster Dulles-Air Force) doctrine and a "pragmatic" (Marshall-Army) doctrine of war. The latter is essentially a (British) view of graduated deterrence and limited war, the former a conviction that the United States should try to win a major nuclear war, if deterrence should fail. For searching analytical purposes, however, this distinction is too crude to lead beyond the confines of the usual public discussions of this subject by hasty opinion makers. Nor are Janowitz's comments on the

post-war era made so as to substantiate his propositions, free of biases of commission and omission.

Janowitz displays a fine feeling for the limits of violence in international relations. But since he fails to express this feeling more tangibly with reference to the conduct of foreign affairs by the great powers, he permits himself to condemn "absolutist" doctrine not because he has proved it to be wrong but because he regards it as objectionable. Falling prey to a common mistake in the sociology of knowledge, he does not really examine the merits and demerits of the doctrine he rejects. He takes exception to the doctrine not because he has established its bias but because his own bias conflicts with that ascribed to the doctrine.

Except for the chapters dealing with doctrine, Janowitz's book must be recommended highly to students who wish to familiarize themselves with a subject that has been traditionally neglected by American sociologists.

HANS SPEIER

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Structure and Process in Modern Societies. By TALCOTT PARSONS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. vi, 344 pp. \$6.00.

It is not too easy to determine why *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* makes as unrewarding reading as it does. There is much good sociology in its 344 pages. Yet the reader is left with the feeling that a good deal of what is being said has been said much better by the economist, economic historian, political scientist, or, with reference to some of the problems dealt with, by other sociologists. The trouble seems to lie in Parsons' belief that in his theory of social systems he has developed a very special kind of approach to problems of economic, political, and social organization. The use of the first person pronoun throughout the volume is a reflection of his belief that he alone possesses the kind of theoretical orientation which makes such analysis possible. Parsons, writing about forms of economic organization, the process of economic development, the characteristics of industrial societies, the structure of political systems, changes in medical education, and patterns of religious organization, makes a great number of very shrewd sociological observations. He is an excellent sociologist, with the capacity to seek out the sociological relevance of things which do not lend themselves obviously to sociological analysis. But he clearly is in possession of no special powers of analysis. The worth of what he has to say rests simply on the strength of the sociological approach (and

his grasp of the particular body of data with which he is dealing).

Viewed in this light, the reasons for mixed feelings about *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* become apparent. For the non-sociological reader, Parsons has done a masterly job of bringing to bear, to use his own words, "some theoretical perspectives of sociology" in areas not normally thought of as subject to sociological analysis. But the sociological reader is not a little irritated by three characteristics of the essays.

The first, of course, is their pretentiousness. Why can Parsons not recognize that what he is trying to do is no different from what any other sociologist is trying to do? If he did, he might be more charitable towards—and even derive profit from—the work of his fellow-sociologists. Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, and, possibly, R. K. Merton, appear to be the only sociologists Parsons acknowledges as his peers.

The second characteristic of the essays is closely related to the first. In the effort to make the general theory of social systems appear unique, Parsons has developed his own language. The result is the unnecessary weighting down of the analysis by a jargon which contributes nothing to discernment or understanding. Indeed, it only discredits what the sociologist is trying to do in the eyes of his fellow social scientists.

A third characteristic of the essays is one that cannot be stated quite so positively. Parsons relies heavily upon Max Weber, but he has not become the historian that Weber was. What is striking about the bibliographical notes at the end of the volume is the limited reference to the work of the economic historian. The reader is left wondering whether Parsons has sufficient depth of knowledge to undertake the type of analysis he does, particularly in relation to the problem of economic development. There appears, for instance, a complete readiness to accept Weber's explanation of the rise of capitalism, particularly the emphasis on religious values in the creation of attitudes favorable to capitalist growth. Weber may not have been wrong, but that large body of literature relating to economic development which has grown up since his day certainly makes clear that the problem is much more complex than he supposed. One cannot help but wish that Parsons would show a greater awareness in his writing of the existence of this enormously rich body of literature. His work relies heavily upon an exceedingly narrow range of empirical data and leaves the impression that the theories derive from working over and over a limited body of facts.

If *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* has a contribution to make it is in arousing among social scientists in other fields a greater awareness of the sociological implications of certain facts with which they are dealing. Yet it is to be feared that the chief reaction of economists, economic historians, and political scientists will be largely one of annoyance. Nor is the general reader likely to take kindly to it, given the ponderous and jargon-laden manner of its writing. All of which is a great pity, for Parsons certainly has much to say that is worthwhile.

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The Chinese Family in the Communist Revolution. By C. K. YANG. Foreword by TALCOTT PARSONS. Cambridge: Technology Press, 1959. xii, 246 pp. Distributed by Harvard University Press. \$6.00.

We welcome this contribution to a clearer understanding of the family changes brought about by the Chinese Communists. The author's approach is analytical and his attitude non-partisan. The book deals with changing Chinese social institutions, marriage, divorce, women, the changing family economic structure, the shifting center of loyalty, and the secularization of the family. Through the book the author follows a consistent pattern of approach. He first discusses the traditional institutions, then the changes after the 1911 revolution, which the author calls the "Republican period," and finally the evolving of new patterns under the Communists. As much space, if not more, is devoted to the traditional period as to the period under the Communists. The "Republican period" is introduced to show that significant changes had taken place in the age-old family institution before the advent of the Communists. The author maintains, however, that the changes during the "Republican period" affected only the urban intellectuals, who constituted a numerical minority, while the masses in the countryside were not touched by the "new culture movement" or the "Renaissance" of 1917.

Dr. Yang has a rich cultural background as well as a sound perspective of the traditional family pattern, so his analysis is on the whole quite sound. For the traditional period, however, he does not take the trouble to document his statements. His discussion of family changes under the "Republican period" is based on the Law of Kinship Relations promulgated by the Nationalist government in 1930 and on the ideas of the "New Culture Movement" of 1917.

The discussion of the family in the Communist period is adequately documented. The

author lays great emphasis on the Marriage Law of the People's Republic of China, which was promulgated by the Central People's Government in May 1950. He has gleaned a good deal of pertinent information from Communist newspapers, magazines, and other publications—limited, however, mostly to the 1951–1952 period. Only the chapter on the changing economic structure makes use of data of later years.

On the whole, the book deals with family changes in Communist China up to the time of the land reform. Changes in subsequent years in connection with the establishment of the agricultural cooperatives and the communes are mentioned but not treated with the thoroughness and detail of the earlier period.

It may perhaps be fair to say that the strength as well as the weakness of the book lies in the fact that a large part of the author's views and analysis is based on his personal observations in China. He was an eye-witness to the changes of the earlier years of Communist control until he left China in 1951. While his study is enriched by his actual experience and field observations, he tends to rely less on documentary sources, especially for the period following his departure from China.

Important developments between 1953 and the formation of the communes, for which much information is available from Communist publications, have been omitted from the book. For example, the vigorous campaign for birth control, the plight of the old people before the formation of the communes, the general trend of early marriage and sexual licence which greatly disturbed the Communist leaders, and, finally, the drastic changes in the family after the formation of the communes: these are topics that might have been included in a more complete treatment of the subject.

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Montesquieu and Rousseau: Forerunners of Sociology. By EMILE DURKHEIM. Foreword by HENRI PEYRE. Notes by GEORGES DAVY and A. CUVILLIER. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960. xvi, 155 pp. \$3.95.

Even Madison Avenue would have had difficulty projecting the proper image of Emile Durkheim. For Durkheim's complex personality was, in fact, a blending of at least two different images. One is the image of the serious, austere, forbidding, unsmiling scientist and professor who insists on rigorous application of logical reasoning and on strict methodological procedures. The other image, equally valid, is that of the fervent prophet and social critic, the passionate moralist, the intense patriot, and the

ardent philosopher seeking truth with reason and clarity. Henri Peyre, in his informative introduction to this admirable translation of Durkheim's essays on Montesquieu and Rousseau, directs attention to both these features, and thus helps us understand the divergent views often expressed by Durkheim's various critics.

The Montesquieu analysis is a translation of Professor Cuvillier's improved French rendering of Durkheim's Latin thesis published in 1892. Durkheim finds in Montesquieu the basic elements of the kind of social science he himself was hoping to establish: an empirical, inductive, positive discipline based on systematic classification of social phenomena, on the recognition of the distinctive character of social reality, on the effort to establish laws in terms of a principle of determinate order in social existence, and on the testing of hypotheses relating social facts and conditions to environmental factors. The one major element of social science which Montesquieu overlooked is, according to Durkheim, the notion of historical development or progress. Georges Davy's centennial lecture on Montesquieu, reproduced here in part, disputes the accuracy of Durkheim's criticism on this score. Be that as it may, the significant thing is the recognition that sociological analysis requires consideration of both historical forces (*praeterita*) and environmental factors (*circumfusa*).

The Rousseau commentary is based on lectures given at the University of Bordeaux, presumably in 1901-1902, as part of a course on the History of Sociological Doctrines. A moving and dramatic footnote (unhappily not reproduced in this volume) by Xavier Léon, then editor of the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* in which this essay first appeared in 1918, gives a vivid description of how Durkheim, stricken and anticipating death, arranged his manuscripts for posthumous publication. Special attention was given to the Rousseau lectures, for the author of *The Social Contract* was one of Durkheim's favorite writers. In fact, one finds striking parallels between Rousseau's and Durkheim's conceptions of society as a reality *sui generis*. At the same time, Durkheim stresses the logical and philosophical difficulties inherent in Rousseau's essentially individualistic approach. Also significant is Durkheim's interpretation of Rousseau's discussion of the "state of nature" as fundamentally psychological rather than historical, suggesting that it is basically a methodological device. One notes the similarity to the "models" and "ideal constructs" so fashionable today.

Unfortunately, there are indications of some editorial haste in the preparation of this English

version. Several rather important footnotes by both Durkheim and Cuvillier are omitted entirely, and there are a few errors of date and name in Professor Peyre's Introduction. These are but minor distractions in a volume which is well-designed and attractive and renders a major service by making readily available in good English Durkheim's interpretations of two influential leaders of French social thought.

Ralph Manheim's translation is lucid, workmanlike, and accurate.

HARRY ALPERT

University of Oregon.

The Cult of Authority: The Political Philosophy of the Saint-Simonians. By GEORG G. IGGERS. A Chapter in the Intellectual History of Totalitarianism. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. 210 pp. Guilders 14.25.

In this contribution to nineteenth century intellectual history, Mr. Iggers has attempted both to redefine and to reappraise Saint-Simonianism. By this term he refers not to any of the successive and contradictory phases through which Saint-Simon himself passed, but rather to the less positivistic and even messianic doctrine professed after his death by Enfantin, Bazard, and their followers. It is from a detailed analysis of their lectures, newspapers, and pamphlets that the author has extricated an "authoritarian" political theory which he describes as "foreshadowing" twentieth century totalitarianism.

So far from being utopian socialists, as the Marxists would have us believe, or even the naive positivists and technocrats who thought that all would be well with society if only experts planned and ruled (as Prof. Hayek portrays them), the Saint-Simonians developed a cult of authority which exalted order, hierachial organization, and differential rewards in a far more radical style than any other movement of their century. For what was genuinely novel in their doctrine was their insistence that the state ought to dominate every phase of individual and social life by a highly integrated ideology embodied in a movement, party, and leader. The ideology included an elaborate philosophy of history which formed part of a total view of life, a secular religion explicitly modeled after Roman Catholicism. The Saint-Simonian church, Mr. Iggers further argues, amounted to a modern totalitarian party. Its leader was to be a great man, selected not through the ballot box but by the spontaneous recognition of the masses. Under such a regime, the only Parliament permitted would be a body which, after hearing government experts, would then register its approval. Art, culture, and education would all be used to indoctrinate the official ideology.

And so, although the Saint-Simonians were concerned with the masses' welfare, their authoritarianism led them to take up a position which did not belong either to the Left or Right. For they went considerably further than did the Marxists in rejecting not only liberty, but democracy, constitutionalism, and respect for individual rights. The Saint-Simonians even discarded their original positivistic respect for science and substituted an emphasis on intuition.

Such is the portrait of the Saint-Simonians' doctrine as drawn by Mr. Iggers. By his systematic and critical analysis, he has called attention to a set of ideas which no student of modern political theory can henceforth ignore. And yet there is something curiously unsatisfactory about the formal conclusions of this book, when contrasted with the valuable documents and running commentary upon which they are based. The difficulty goes beyond the fact that Mr. Iggers has taken one stage in the history of a rapidly changing movement and given it the name of Saint-Simonism. Rather more serious is his conception of intellectual history, which, separating ideas from their social context and the personalities of their exponents, concentrates on such vague constructs as "foreshadowing" and that other favorite of *Ideengeschichte*, "influence." Thus, Mr. Iggers attempts to find in twentieth century totalitarianism the realization of tendencies latent in a system of thought developed a century earlier in quite another stage of political and technological development. The image is teleological. Yet, the reader will not find that the author has made any effort to prove that Eufantin and Bazard in fact affected the thought of Mussolini, Lenin, or Hitler. In short, the conclusions of this volume are based upon broad analogies to something called twentieth century totalitarianism.

When analyzing Saint-Simonianism, Mr. Iggers is capable of great subtlety. Unfortunately, he seems to think that "totalitarianism," "authoritarianism," "legitimacy," and other favored abstractions are self-evident concepts which can be employed without definition or reference to the extensive literature discussing their meaning. His otherwise impressive and valuable bibliography cites no theoretical or applied study of totalitarianism; nor does it show any trace of the controversy about political authority which has grown out of *The Authoritarian Personality*. The author makes much of the Saint-Simonians' ideology and their view that the state should monopolize all means of opinion. These points are important, but Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union were based upon more than doctrine and propaganda. They also employed certain institutional and technological practices:

the systematic use of terror, the possession of modern weapons systems capable of cowing any populace, and a party parallel to, and in fact controlling, the state apparatus. This list is not exhaustive, but it does indicate how incomplete is any analysis of totalitarianism based purely on doctrine.

The Saint-Simonians never held power, and many of the technical means crucial to totalitarianism did not exist in their time. But apart from this objection, the Saint-Simonians did not believe in the use of force; indeed their philosophy of history insisted that violence must inevitably disappear from human relations. Yet is it meaningful to speak of a totalitarianism that is not based on fear? Ever since Montesquieu's analysis of despotism, political regimes have been classified by the extent to which they terrorize their subjects. The Saint-Simonians, for all their apparent modernity, appear to have held a kind of magical belief that society will prosper if only one system of ideas prevails, if only men are placed in their natural social order, and each order is in the proper relationship to those above and below it. Such a view prevailed in classical Chinese society, and in a more geometrical form, is not absent from Plato.

Despite the inadequacies of some of Mr. Iggers' leading ideas, he has done a solid and useful piece of work. It is to be regretted that his prose is so impenetrable. For those interested in encountering the Saint-Simonians themselves, Mr. Iggers has translated with notes and introduction *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An Exposition. First Year 1828-9* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958).

MELVIN RICHTER

Hunter College

Foundations of Social Determinism: An Inquiry into its Epistemological Problematics. By MARIO LINS. Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Institute of Philosophy, 1959. 147 pp. No price indicated, paper.

Professor Lins' book is a closely reasoned argument for the unity of the natural and social sciences, and incorporates some of his earlier essays on the subject originally published in Portuguese and Spanish.

His work reflects the preoccupations which are present to a high degree in contemporary Latin American methodological and social thought, especially in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. The battle lines between "scientific positive sociology" and "interpretative philosophical sociology" seem to be more closely drawn than is the case among the more pragmatic *Norte Americanos*. Perhaps because of our

pragmatism we are readier to concede that a variety of viewpoints may be in the long run more scientifically productive in grasping both the subtleties and order of social reality, than a purer and more logically consistent exclusively behavioral or, in contradistinction, interpretative approach.

Our methodology, as our politics, is readier to make concessions to opposing standpoints than is the case where positions are held more rigorously. This is particularly true when scientific concessions are regarded as being by implication political or religious concessions as well. When a more "philosophical" approach is regarded as necessarily being connected with "Conservatism" or "Clericalism," or when "positivism" is associated with "Liberalism" in religion and politics, then methodological positions become closely identified with public issues and become hallmarks of one's total *Weltanschauung*.

These comments are derived not so much from the book under consideration, but rather from the reviewer's observations during his recent six months stay in Chile, Argentina, and Mexico. Nevertheless, Lins' book may be characterized as representative of the neo-positivist school at a high level of logical conceptualization. Lins has drawn upon a considerable literature from the contemporary philosophy of physics, general semantics, and methodology of science to arrive at a carefully formulated theory of the nature of the social field, social causation, and the nature of social determinism. It does not seem to this reviewer, however, that he has succeeded in demolishing the methodological insights of Dilthey, Rickert, and Max Weber.

GERARD DE GRÉ

Bard College.

The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology. By JOSEPH CAMPBELL. New York: Viking Press, 1959. vii, 504 pp. \$6.00.

This is the first of four volumes, in which Campbell proposes to review the forms of primitive, oriental, occidental, and "creative" mythology. Part I makes a fresh methodological proposition. Not merely does Campbell begin by telling the reader the usual necessary things: *what* he is going to do (a full-scale comparative study of those compelling images through which humans have made sense of themselves and of all existence), and *why* (because what subject could be more important?); further, he suggests that he has run across a useful new *how* (the jargon of modern animal psychology). He does not explicitly state his pleasure in the possibility of applying a theory of animal instinct to the continuum of poetry animating all civilizations; but the pleasure is there, built into the

very plan of his master work, which follows the model of evolutionary continuity, now canonical to both the natural and social sciences.

To transfer terms from one discipline to another is always a dangerous operation, even when performed by a hand so trained and delicate as Campbell's. The receiving discipline may suffer an overdose of the stimulant and immediately step out of the high theoretical window that has been opened, confident that equally high ground has been produced just below. That new, high ground is sometimes there; the miracle occurs. Old sciences have thus gained new life. Campbell is not yet absolutely ready to urge his old science to take the fateful step. He merely points toward the window and announces that what lies beyond looks gloriously safe.

The excitement of Part I dies away and other excitements arise. Terms such as "innate releasing mechanism" and "central excitatory mechanisms," lifted from the study of animal behavior, remain untransferred to the actual analyses of myths which occupy Campbell in Parts II, III, and IV. Part I is therefore programmatic rather than analytic, useful too for hammering at the sociologists on his left, who want to make of myth nothing more than primitive ideology, and at the theologians on his right, who want to make of myth a rather rich and varied preparation for the one true belief. Otherwise, the new theoretical window has been marked "for future jumping only," when more data have been heaped up outside. Campbell shows admirable restraint in not forcing through a transferral of terms in his own work, for although it is clear that he is most influenced by Jung he would dearly love to exchange something unclean with controversy, like the "archetypes," for something antiseptic, like "supernormal sign stimulus."

Campbell is neither a complete nor a dogmatic Jungian. In fact, like Jung himself, he is dependent on other theoretical resources—practically every current resource except the Freudian. To Freud, there is only the most grudging recognition, despite the full exercise given to psychoanalytic concepts in the book. Curious lapses from taste occur in the book. Evidently the author could not conceal his hostility to Freud and insists on referring to him, archly, as "Dr. Freud." Professor Campbell could have denied himself this tumid pleasure, and risked the more strenuous one of practicing in the remainder of the book what he preaches in the beginning. As a practicing scientist of myth, instead of a merely preaching one, Campbell would automatically command the field. But he does so anyway, from the evidence of the intellectual authority which this book gives.

Parts II, III, and IV practice beautifully, without help from the earlier preachers. Campbell here traces the master images of primitive cultures. In its balance of psychological and historical analysis, this book ought to be required reading for all sociologists confronting large subjects. The force of Campbell's argument—that the master images of myth are so universal that they must be rooted somehow in the nature of man, subject to permitting and limiting conditions—is so well balanced between the constants of psychology and the conditionals of history that the sociological reader might forget, in his admiration, that the argument itself is very old, and that Campbell does not succeed in masking the infirmities of its age.

After strong opening hints that this book is really about the "game of belief," the reader may miss the main point, for the author has packed it deeply under layers of splendid erudition. But by the middle of the book, the reader will notice that a subtle process of unpacking has also taken place. The packing and unpacking reach a climax at the end of the chapter on Shamanism (p. 281). Here indeed is the climax of the book; although there are some 200 additional pages of very informative matter, these add nothing to the argument. Borrowing from Nietzsche, Campbell sums up his argument: "God is dead, long live myth." Put differently, one might say: "Theology is dead, long live the religious experience." Or, more sociologically: "The bureaucrats are giving way to the scientists and artists." Just how Campbell comes to this conclusion would need elaborate tracing through the entire first half of the book. It is clear that, as between the priest and the shaman, Campbell is entirely on the side of the latter. And that for which he wishes he sees: "The binding of the shamans . . . by the gods and their priests . . . may perhaps be already terminating—today—in this period of the irreversible transition of society from an agricultural to industrial base, when not the piety of the planter, bowing humbly before the will of the calendar and the gods . . . but the magic of the laboratory, flying rocket ships where the gods once sat, holds the promise of the boons of the future."

This libertarian faith of Campbell's seems to me less justified than it was a century, or a millennium, ago. To see the new bureaucrats of science in the image of Prometheus is a genuine mythic affirmation, which may protect its holder against all sorts of anxieties, but may not square with the negativity of the facts. Campbell is entitled to his belief that not only are the Gods dead but their priests too are dying, which is a more important event, since institutions are more durable than the original ideas for which

they were created. Nevertheless, we shall have to postpone judgment on the value to our lives of what has replaced the priestly mythologies until he reaches his last volume, on the "creative" mythologies. These mythologies, I infer, will be viewed as equivalent to the efforts of modern science and art. Campbell may yet discover that science and art cannot be "creative," at least not in the mythic sense that is his subject here. Meanwhile, this volume should be read. It is highly readable, almost too much so. Campbell cannot resist telling a good story—illustrating some "nuclear mythological image" or issue. He has made the book fat with stories such as the world has always felt compelled to hear told. Not all are necessary to his argument. But Campbell delights in using as many stories as scholarly decorum (and his publisher, no doubt) allow, because, patently, he is a wise man; and wise men realize that, properly announced, much of what they seek to explain better explains itself.

PHILIP RIEFF

University of California, Berkeley.

The Symbolic Life of Man. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1959. xii, 294 pp. Rs. 15.00.

Radhakamal Mukerjee, director of the Institute of Sociology and Human Relations, Lucknow University, is well known to English readers. He has long performed the service of interpreting Indian culture to Westerners. He has written books on sociology, economics, ethics, values, marriage, mysticism, and Indian civilization. His knowledge of American thought is extensive. Always of a wide-ranging mind, *The Symbolic Life of Man* is something of an integration of his many interests, with the symbol the focus of integration. His outlook on man is nearest to that of Ernst Cassirer and C. G. Jung, with considerable similarity on certain points to Freud, George Mead, and Talcott Parsons.

Many sociologists have given an important place to the role of symbols in human behavior; Mukerjee, however, wishes to make the symbol the central concept of sociology. So the present book is an attempt to erect what he calls a "symbolic sociology." He envisages three tasks for symbolic sociology: (1) an objective study of the entire range of symbols; (2) an appraisal of symbolic expressions and usages; and (3) an attempt to help transform man's "key-symbols into effective normative principles and ideals, rules and codes in the routine life of man and society" (p. 59).

Mukerjee does not attempt a detailed analysis of the relation of the symbol to signs. In general

the symbol is said, first, to have, in addition to the descriptive reference of the sign, a normative component, and, secondly, to be grounded in the unconscious (quite in Jung's sense). A distinction is made between appreciative symbols (such as occur in art, myth, and religion) and motivational symbols (such as occur in morals and law). The stress throughout is upon "man's multi-dimensional" symbolic life (quite in the sense of Cassirer).

The Symbolic Life of Man deals with all three of the previously mentioned tasks of symbolic sociology, though primarily with the first (the objective study of symbols). Here Mukerjee considers such problems as the operation of symbols in myths, in the normal and disturbed personality, in role behavior, in caste, and in the strivings for status and equality. He sees the symbol as the integrative bond between personality, culture, and cosmos.

With respect to appraisal, Mukerjee is sharply critical of the symbols of the West and of Russia—for him they have lost connections with the unconscious, and do not give man a sense of communion with the cosmos. He believes the symbols of India are without these defects.

With respect to the motivational task of furnishing symbols for "effective normative principles" Mukerjee seems to favor a rejuvenation of the traditional symbols of Indian religion and art. He thinks these stress universal values, and are metaphysically grounded. Hence they favor the emergence of universal man (*Homo universus*), which becomes for Mukerjee the key symbol for the direction of modern man.

I hope that those of different philosophic persuasion will not neglect the book on this account. For *The Symbolic Life of Man* ranges over both Western and Indian thought, and is everywhere rewarding and richly suggestive.

CHARLES MORRIS
University of Florida.

Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society. Edited by MAURICE R. STEIN, ARTHUR J. VIDICH, and DAVID MANNING WHITE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. 658 pp. \$7.50.

One of the virtues of this book, which comprises forty-one essays, is that it juxtaposes aspects of contemporary personality and society usually considered separately. Its main value, however, is that the volume makes readily available certain outstanding contributions, for example, Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," Kubie, "Some Unsolved Problems of the Scientific Career," Newmann, "Anxiety and Politics," Goffman, "Characteristics of Total Institutions," and Cohen, "Individuality of Thought."

The essays embody differing views of identity

and anxiety. (An index, which is lacking, would greatly facilitate detailed comparisons and add to the cumulative value of the collection.) With some writers anxiety is roughly equated with fear of a particular object; some regard it as a diffused apprehension of something unknown. Some think that anxiety impedes identity; others that the maintenance of anxiety is far preferable to becoming a well-adjusted "cheerful robot." Indeed, "Identity and Alienation" might more accurately describe this compilation, since the theme of many of its essays is alienation that may lead either to anxiety or to excessive adaptation. The editors say that they are presenting a "rather pessimistic analysis" of the way the diffusion of personal identity results from adjustment to the "incoherent, formless reality" of modern life.

Part I ("Central Perspectives") consists of rather familiar theoretical statements. Part II ("Sources of Identity and Anxiety in Mass Life") is more concrete. It begins with "The Terror and Therapy of Work," and concludes with "The Dissolution of Identities." Part III ("The Evolution of Personal Styles in Mass Society") ranges from C. M. Bowra on "Poetry and Tradition" to Karl Jaspers' "The Axial Age of Human History."

From these essays certain ideas stand out as calling for further exploration: Swados' belief that what is occurring today is not the disappearance of the working class but the proletarianization of the middle class; Fromm-Reichmann's observation that guilt feelings after the death of a loved person are due less to ambivalence than to an attempt to bring the fact of death within human compass; Kubie's comment that prolonged training tends to divorce the research worker from the problems of "the world's needs" and to render his work increasingly affected by unrecognized emotional factors in his personality. These and other observations, together with Lifton's recognition of developments in recent studies of shame and guilt that amplify the commonly accepted Freud-Benedict concepts, and Finestone's description of adolescent Negro drug addicts, which throws light more generally on ways of living with estrangement in our society, are more than enough justification for the making of this volume.

HELEN MERRELL LYND
Sarah Lawrence College.

The Open and Closed Mind: Investigations into the Nature of Belief Systems and Personality Systems. By MILTON ROKEACH. New York: Basic Books, 1960. xv, 447 pp. \$7.50.

For more than a decade Rokeach and his associates have been publishing intriguing re-

search papers on narrow-mindedness, mental rigidity, prejudice, and dogmatism. The volume under review presents these studies in impressive unity.

The focus of the book is on the belief system of the individual. The key instrument, called a dogmatism scale, is designed to measure individual differences in openness and closedness of belief systems. Openness refers to the disposition to evaluate information and its source separately; closedness denotes a disposition to evaluate information in the light of its source. To make the instrument a general measure of dogmatism it is constructed to be free of specific ideological content. Thus, persons adhering dogmatically to capitalism or to communism, to Catholicism or to anti-Catholicism score together at the high end of the continuum.

In Rokeach's view, Gestalt psychology presents man as though he had a completely open belief system, whereas both behaviorism and psychoanalysis, in their different ways, assume models of man with a closed belief system. Believing that both views are necessary to encompass the range of phenomena, he hypothesizes that a closed belief system is a consequence of threat. To the extent that a cognitive need to know is predominant and a need to ward off threat absent, he says, open belief systems should result. But as the need to ward off threat becomes stronger, and as the cognitive need becomes weaker, the result is more closed systems. After presenting data which are consistent with his hypothesis (for example, that persons high in dogmatism tend to be high in anxiety), Rokeach concludes: "The beautiful thing about a belief system is that it seems to be constructed to serve both masters at once: to understand the world insofar as possible, and to defend against it insofar as necessary" (p. 400).

Of the numerous studies designed to test various aspects of his theory, three seem especially noteworthy. Varying the belief system and race of referent, and asking for a response in terms of social distance, he uses items of the type: I can easily see myself being friends with a Negro who believes in God. This study leads to the conclusion that the extent to which the beliefs of people are congruent or incongruent with our own is much more important in the understanding of prejudice than such conventional categories as race and ethnicity.

Secondly, in an investigation of the difference between mental rigidity (resistance to the change of single beliefs or sets of habits) and dogmatism (resistance to change of systems of beliefs) a miniature cosmology is invented. Its protagonist is Joe Doodlebug, a mythical crea-

ture whose movements are subject to novel rules. By forcing his subjects to work within an imposed and strange set of beliefs, Rokeach is able to test the hypothesis that rigidity should lead to difficulties of analysis, and dogmatism to difficulties in synthesis.

In the only other study to be noted here the author asks members of six Christian denominations to rate all six for similarity (the term is left undefined). In general he finds that the more dissimilar a faith to one's own, the more it is rejected, and he reports that a disbelief system can be conceived of as several subsystems arranged along a continuum. No longer, he says, does it seem meaningful to talk in dichotomous terms of in-group and out-group or of positive and negative reference groups. Rather, a group lies along the continuum of similarity to the belief system.

Other findings of interest: (1) The probability of religious exogamy is positively correlated with the similarity of the groups. (2) The amount of marital conflict is negatively correlated with the similarity of the religious groups of the spouses. (3) Catholics rate high on anxiety; nonbelievers rate low. (4) From a study of twelve ecumenical councils held over a period of twelve centuries by the Catholic Church it is found that the greater the situational threat to the Church in the period just before the council, the greater is the absolutism and the punitiveness expressed in the canons enacted by the council.

This is a book on an important topic—the acceptance-rejection of categories of people and systems of ideas. It is rich in theory, ideas, ingenuity in testing hypotheses, and data. In sum, it is a book of rare excellence.

ROBERT F. WINCH
Northwestern University

The Eighth Generation: Cultures and Personalities of New Orleans Negroes. Edited by JOHN H. ROHRER and MUNRO S. EDMONSON. Co-authors: HAROLD LIEF, DANIEL THOMPSON, and WILLIAM THOMPSON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. xi, 346 pp. \$6.00.

As originally conceived, this was a study of major scope with exciting possibilities. The outcome, while interesting, is largely disappointing.

The main objective was a follow-up of the adolescent New Orleans Negroes studied by Davis and Dollard in *Children of Bondage* (1940), particularly the 107 cases most intensively interviewed in that project. Rohrer and associates traced or relocated 90 of these cases and actually interviewed 47, but their intensive psychiatric interviewing and psychological testing were concentrated on a sample of ten men

and ten women who reasonably represented the status levels of the community.

The general features of the present study are similar to Davis and Dollard, but two notable differences may be mentioned. The present staff was a large one that included psychologists, psychiatrists, an anthropologist, a sociologist, and many other contributors. A more elaborate effort at interdisciplinary teamwork than in the earlier study was attempted.

The chief difference is in the interpretative scheme. Davis and Dollard emphasized caste and class dynamics as primary determinants in the socialization of the Negro child, but the present authors concluded that the caste and class concepts fail to do justice to the diversity of their subjects' experiences. They chose, rather, a more generic basis of analysis by asking what primary role and self identifications appear in their cases and what cultural patterning of these identifications occur. For their twenty cases, five such role patterns were determined: the *Middle Class*, the *Matriarchy*, the *Gang*, the *Family*, and a residual category, the *Marginals*. The book is devoted largely to a presentation of eight case histories which illustrate how for each case his primary role identification, institutionalized in family life and symbolized in ego ideals, affected the life of the subject.

The accumulation of good longitudinal personality data is by itself a justification of the study. The study also contributes by its careful presentation of evidence indicating the complex factors affecting the subjects' personalities, and the warning which it thus gives against glib generalizations about the determinants of "the Negro personality." On the other hand, the authors' own scheme of the culturally-patterned, primary role-identifications as an organizing principle of personalities strikes us as being itself an undue simplification, and as having the added disadvantage of yielding a non-systematic classification scheme (that is, one mixing the several dimensions of class, family structure, and peer relations).

Even so, the approach of primary role-identifications might have made a greater impact had the view been consistently pursued and systematically elaborated. One senses, however, that the emphasis on interdisciplinary teamwork may have interfered with a unified treatment. Again, understanding of the personalities might have been enhanced had the study been related to some theoretically interesting problem, but it appears that the chief aim was the follow-up and re-evaluation of the original cases and study. Thus, two conditions which seemed of great advantage to the study, the

opportunity for the follow-up and the interdisciplinary staff, may also have proved to be its chief handicaps.

S. FRANK MIYAMOTO
University of Washington

Patterns of Change in Problem Families: A Study of the Social Functioning and Movement of 150 Families Served by the Family Centered Project. By L. L. GEISMAR and BEVERLY AYRES. In collaboration with KATHERINE H. TINKER. St. Paul, Minn.: Family Centered Project, Greater St. Paul Community Chest & Councils, 1959. vi, 48 pp. \$2.00, paper.

This monograph, part of a book now in process, reports the results of a study of 150 "multi-problem" families served by the Family Centered Project of St. Paul. Those enamored of experimental designs will probably be disappointed because it was not possible to set up a control group for this investigation. Nine categories of family behavior were analyzed through what appears to be a promising "profile instrument" (based on Guttman's concept of a unidimensional scale) which plotted ratings on a seven point scale ranging from inadequate to adequate functioning. Profile measurements, taken at the time of opening and closing cases, identified the most commonly encountered problems in the areas of child care, individual behavior, and family relationships. Contrary to popular assumption, poor housekeeping practices were the exception rather than the rule.

After tallying "movement scores" from the difference between scores at intake and closing, a total measurement was derived by adding the ratings for each of the nine categories. The authors modestly claim a statistically significant "typical movement pattern" of slightly less than half a scale step—a finding remarkably similar to that of a study of individual clients completed by Shyne and Kogan at the Community Service Society of New York City.

While these gains in family functioning appeared reasonably well consolidated during a follow-up investigation of 55 cases, no pretenses of wisdom are offered concerning the causation or prediction of family disorganization. In contrast to the soundly designed portions of this investigation, the "piece-meal" analysis of treatment techniques in 30 randomly selected cases seems relatively weak and barren.

A craftsmanlike, groundbreaking effort pointing up the fruitfulness of cooperation between practice-oriented social scientists and research-oriented social workers, this study merits the careful attention of investigators interested in

the complicated problems of measuring changes in family pathology.

HOWARD J. PARAD
Smith College School for Social Work

The Self-Image of the Foster Child. By EUGENE A. WEINSTEIN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960. 80 pp. \$2.00.

This volume, by a sociologist who held a Russell Sage Foundation Residency at the Chicago Child Care Society in 1954-1955, describes an exploratory study of the foster child's image of the placement situation. The subjects consisted of 61 foster children, five years of age or older, in placement at least one year, and not seriously emotionally disturbed. The author interviewed each child for one-half to one hour using a schedule of twenty open-ended questions.

Introducing the report is an excellent discussion of the roles involved in placement and the dilemmas which can arise from varying definitions by natural parents, foster parents, child, and caseworker. In the study itself, two conclusions stand out. First, the children follow a developmental sequence: the older they are, the better they understand the role of the agency and the meaning of being a foster child. Secondly, those children who best understand the role of the agency and those who see and identify with their natural parents have the highest well-being scores, as rated by caseworkers. Presumably these children feel less ambiguity about their positions.

The author is aware of the study's limitations—the selectivity of cases, superficiality of the data, and crudity of the well-being scale. Avoiding the problem of validity, the author affirms that he is presenting not the child's attitudes, but the representation the child makes to the outside world, a tricky line to draw in actual analysis.

Possibly because the report is directed primarily to social workers, the author barely touches on broader and theoretical implications. The study contributes to our knowledge of the socialization of deviance as well as introducing a socio-psychological approach. It has implications for adoption, divorce, care by relatives, and other situations in which the child may have dual family status.

FREDERICK ELKIN

McGill University

Culture and Mental Health. Edited by MARVIN K. OPLER. New York: Macmillan, 1959. xxi, 533 pp. \$8.75.

This inter-disciplinary anthology focuses on the comparative effects of diverse cultures upon

disordered behavior as well as upon care and treatment. Its emphasis is anthropological, with culture as the central concept of departure. Considering the scarcity of literature (especially definitive research) in this borderland of disciplines, this book is a necessary addition.

Its content is omnibus, rather than an orderly, definitive sequence of inquiries concerning specified diagnostic types or particular modes of therapy. After an optimistic introduction by the editor, who characterizes the field of social psychiatry from an anthropological vantage point (as though sociologists had not given serious attention to or written about this field!), the volume is organized by geographic areas. It includes materials on American Indian tribes, South Pacific peoples, groups in China, North India, Singapore, and Africa. Aspects of treatment and care in England and the United States are discussed, and a section is devoted to personality maladaptation and disorders among the Negroes, Jews, Irish, and Italians. It concludes with a brief cross-cultural survey of psychiatry and an account by Margaret Mead of the development and activities of the World Federation of Mental Health.

With a few exceptions, the papers are stimulating and informative, but vary in approach, method, and quality. One prevalent technique consists of field observation and the case study as represented by documents on personality development or personality dynamics. In articles by Hallowell on the Saulteaux and by Spiro on the Ifaluk, the authors hypothesize that the emerging psychopathological manifestations are functions both of the cultural stresses which generate them and of the cultural outlets which resolve them. Spiro goes further on a cue from Merton and maintains that when institutional means to resolve a conflict are lacking, as illustrated in Ifaluk, then the affected individuals resolve their conflicts privately by neuroses and psychoses. The neo-Freudian position which is also characteristic in this volume is illustrated by Gladwin and Sarason, who analyze the Trukese maladapted personality on the basis of early parent-child relations. (Their inference about the lack of binding and profoundly intimate social relations among these people seems to be corroborated by observations of other independent investigators about such other South Sea peoples as the Samoans, the Alorese, and Manus.)

Murphy's quantitative analysis of mental disorders in Singapore illuminates some contrasting expressions of rates in Oriental and Western cities. Rates of mental hospital admissions in Western cities increase with age, while rates in Singapore decrease after age 30. Murphy

also found that schizophrenic rates are higher among family than non-family groups—a finding that tends to contradict the isolation hypothesis. Jaco's study of social factors and psychoses among Mexican, Anglo-American, and non-white sub-societies in Texas is a competent companion piece to the Murphy inquiry.

In the province of psychotherapy, Wallace's study of the Iroquois and Massing's study of group therapy among the Zar Cult in Ethiopia contrast sharply with patterns of mental hospital care and treatment in the United States as described by Kennard.

In brief, while this work lacks a systematic theoretical quality (which it does not claim) and perhaps slight the contributions of sociology, the papers are informative and even exciting. They are to be recommended for students of this cross-disciplinary area.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt University

The Culture of the State Mental Hospital. By H. WARREN DUNHAM and S. KIRSON WEINBERG. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960. xxiii, 284 pp. \$5.00.

This book adds another sociological study of a mental hospital to the growing list of such works. Although it is published in 1960, the data were gathered at Columbus State Hospital in 1946, and the manuscript in substantially its present form was completed in 1948. Thus, chronologically, this study represents the first full-scale sociological analysis of a mental hospital, and is preceded only by the work of Rowland, which was published in the late 1930s in a series of articles. In an appendix, the authors relate their work to studies done at a later date, such as those by Stanton and Schwartz, Belknap, Caudill, John and Elaine Cumming, Jones, and Greenblatt, York, and Brown.

The book is oriented around the now familiar hypothesis "that the informal organization of the mental hospital affects the personal conditions of patients and that the social relations and social structure within the hospital can retard or facilitate the improvement of some patients" (p. xv). The techniques used to gather data were principally informal participant observation in the life of the hospital and more formal interviews with employees and patients.

Effective use was also made of the figures on admissions, discharges, and returnees (patients returned to the hospital from trial visits) in exploring some of the variables associated

with length of hospitalization. The authors conclude: "Our statistical study which compared returnees with discharges in a sample trial visit group showed that the returnees had spent a significantly longer time in the hospital than had the discharged patients. None of the other factors for which a test was made—age, marital condition, and diagnostic category—served to differentiate between the two groups as well as did length of residence in the hospital. This finding, together with the inhibitory and repressive impact of the employee culture, lent considerable support to the contention that after a certain period of time the patient is affected adversely by continued residence in the hospital" (pp. 257-258).

Since the Columbus State Hospital had a daily average population of about 2,500 patients, the authors cite Belknap's study of a state hospital in Texas as comparable to their own work. They feel, however, that Belknap's study concentrated on the formal organization of the hospital, whereas their chief concern was "to see the hospital from the inside through the various reactions of patients and employees to both formal and informal structure, and to show the manner in which the on-going non-material culture literally sabotaged the more formal organization and functioning of the hospital" (pp. 262-263).

In line with this concern, much of the book is devoted to a description and analysis of the "norms of control" embodied in the employee culture, and the "norms of accommodation" found in the patient culture. The findings seem to the reviewer to be somewhat harsh and overdrawn, but the general picture that emerges is very likely still true for a great many state hospitals a decade after this study was completed. The authors emphasize that the employee culture is characterized by control of patients, rigidity of procedures, and apathy toward innovation. The very existence of a patient culture indicates that patients are capable of developing a social life in the hospital which helps them to accommodate to the employees, to relate to each other in institutional living, and to transmit information about techniques which will expedite or impede discharge.

It is good to have this study appear in print after so many years, and the reviewer agrees with the conclusion of the authors that a major research task of the next decade will be to pin down more precisely the relationship between patient improvement and various types of hospital cultural milieus.

WILLIAM CAUDILL

National Institute of Mental Health

Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison. By RICHARD A. CLOWARD, DONALD R. CRESSEY, GEORGE H. GROSSER, RICHARD McCLEERY, LLOYD E. OHLIN, GRESHAM M. SYKES, and SHELDON L. MESSINGER. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960. vi. 146 pp. \$1.50, paper.

A brief review cannot do credit to the many valuable insights, hypotheses, and research suggestions contained in these essays. While their common melancholy burden is that prisoner rehabilitation programs are probably fatally impeded by inmate social structures, they are sophisticated and pleasing stimulants to the sociological imagination which contribute to an understanding of the custody *versus* treatment impasse of contemporary corrections and illuminate general theoretical problems in social organization.

Sykes and Messinger describe the inmate system of values with its theme of cohesion and solidarity, and analyze the roles making up the inmate social structure. The problems posed for correctional administrators by interest groups within and outside of prisons, and their types and modes of relationship to prison programs, are considered by Ohlin. McCleery deals with communications and structure shifts in Oahu Prison as it went from authoritarian to liberal management a decade ago. Grosser, who also assembled the volume, points to factors in the larger social setting of the prison which may influence its formal and informal social structures.

To this reviewer the best essays of a fine lot are Cloward's and Cressey's. In a tightly reasoned argument, Cloward explains the inmate social system as an accommodative mechanism securing for the prison authorities voluntary allegiance from inmates who can no longer, in this day, be controlled by brutal methods. Three types of structural accommodation are delineated corresponding to the *material*, *power*, and *status* needs of prisoners producing, respectively, the roles of *merchants*, *politicians*, and *right guys*.

Cressey discusses operational dilemmas found in treatment-oriented prisons where the treatment point of view, which cannot be communicated effectively to guards and work supervisors, produces employee role behavior which is not ordered, disciplined, or directed toward administration goals. The ensuing informal and friendly inmate-guard relationships, interpreted by professional personnel as evidence of enlightened treatment-mindedness among the guards, actually result from the guards' adaptations to their own role ambi-

guities and to neutralization of their traditional authority.

RALPH W. ENGLAND, JR.
University of Rhode Island

Quantitative Analysis of Judicial Behavior. By GLENDON A. SCHUBERT. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. xxi, 392 pp. \$7.50.

This book examines judicial decisions, particularly those of the Supreme Court, in light of diverse quantitative models. Considerable use is made by the author, Professor of Political Science at Michigan State, of the methods developed by Harper, Pritchett, and Kort for describing the choice of cases granted certiorari, the voting blocks into which the Court has fallen during various periods of its history, and for predicting decisions in particular categories of cases. In addition, the author introduces game theory and the Guttman scale as techniques for analyzing coalition patterns among opposing groups of judges.

Each of the substantive chapters describes an analytic model and applies it to some illustrative data. This procedure serves to demonstrate the applicability of several models to Supreme Court decisions and to suggest the utility of such applications. The block model is useful in revealing gradual shifts in the position of judges and in relating these to the alignment of their colleagues. Scaling the votes of judges on a series of cases indicates the presence or absence of a single scalable dimension in the decisional pattern of the Court and the consistency of the individual judge in terms of this dimension. Kort's technique is a promising device for locating aspects of the fact situation which correlate with decisions which may be unnoticed or at least unmentioned in the Court's opinion.

Less favorable, in the reviewer's opinion, are the results obtained by the author in applying game theory to coalition formation in the Court. In contrast to assumptions of the model, Supreme Court justices usually operate with little or no uncertainty as to the "plays" of their colleagues. In reality, moreover, they often consider appeals to the public, the legislature, or to future judges far more important than winning a given decision or securing (what is dubiously construed by the author as a "side payment") the assignment of writing the opinion. Although such empirical divergencies from the assumptions of the model are acknowledged, no systematic attempt is made to relate them to discrepancies between minimal strategy and actual decisions. Nor are the results of this analysis particularly striking: for instance, that justices who take an intermediate position are

less often forced to dissent than members of extreme blocs. It is possible, of course, that a sophisticated use of game theory will illuminate judicial decision-making, but this job remains to be done.

On balance, however, the book serves an important purpose in directing attention to quantitative aspects of a singularly important decision-making group.

RICHARD D. SCHWARTZ

Yale University

Group Dynamics: Principles and Applications.

By HUBERT BONNER. New York: Ronald Press, 1959. viii, 531 pp. \$6.50.

Individual Behavior and Group Achievement:

A Theory. The Experimental Evidence. By RALPH STOGDILL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. xi, 352 pp. \$5.00.

Group Dynamics is designed by Bonner as a textbook for college students. It is written in the Lewinian tradition, covering such topics as group structure, group cohesiveness, inter-group tensions, group learning, group problem-solving, and group leadership. Throughout the text Bonner makes evident his concern about the uses and abuses of knowledge of group dynamics. For example, in his discussion of cohesive and disruptive forces in group behavior he notes, "The present writer is keenly aware that the negative effects of competition on behavior have been exaggerated by some investigators" (p. 97). Or again, in his final chapter, a critique of group dynamics, he says, "We hope that the preceding chapters have dispelled in the reader the narrow and faulty impressions of person-group relationships, widened his conception of the group, and helped him to understand better its holistic character" (p. 483). The reader Bonner seems to have in mind is the student who has been misled by exaggerated claims for group dynamics research or who has been won over by the "cultish" aspects of applied group dynamics. If the cult is no longer the main feature of group dynamics or if the new student has not yet been "reached" by the time he reads Bonner's book, the force of Bonner's message is lost.

Bonner, as a psychologist, has used a broader definition of group dynamics than most of his contemporaries. He has set this as one of the goals of the book. "We have expanded the horizon of group dynamics to include educational, industrial, community, and political organizations. We take group dynamics beyond the narrow confines of 'small group' research by relating the group to the larger functional units such as organization groups, and the more inclusive social environment, at the same time,

always keeping our attention on the main problem of *group behavior*" (p. 483). This broader definition comes close to what some persons have called sociology.

Stogdill's *Individual Behavior and Group Achievement: A Theory. The Experimental Evidence* provides a review and integration of the Ohio State Leadership Studies and a major part of the small group literature. In style, the book is similar to the *Annual Review of Psychology*. Each chapter has a "theoretical" section and a section reviewing the supporting literature. However, the distinction between the two sections is not always clear. Sometimes the "theoretical" section reads as if it were the "research" section without footnotes.

Stogdill's theory, derived from the work of Parsons and Homans, is essentially a category system which outlines major variables to be considered in research on group productivity. When Stogdill began writing the book he hoped to develop an adequate theory of group achievement. However, he did not find it possible to construct a logically consistent theory based on the hypothesis that *productivity* is the only achievement of organization. He then added *morale* and *integration* to the list of group achievements. Stogdill summarizes his final theoretical position as follows: "A group is regarded as an input-output system. The inputs are performances, expectations, and interactions of the group members. These variables in combination account for the development of group structure and for the initiation and maintenance of group operations. The input behaviors, transformed into group structure and operations, result in outcomes which describe the achievement of the group. The logical development of the system has required that group achievement be analyzed in terms of productivity, integration, and morale. A group may be examined at any stage in its operations to evaluate its status in respect to these three aspects of achievement" (p. 273).

In his attempt to summarize the literature within a "given" area some of Stogdill's generalizations become so broad that they do not sound particularly insightful, for example, "There is strong evidence to support the view that individuals differ in their capacity to initiate and maintain interaction with other persons" (p. 39). One of his valuable contributions is to integrate some aspects of learning theory with small group research. He does this by defining "expectations" as a "readiness for reinforcement."

Both Bonner's text and Stogdill's review of research are timely books. One indication of the growth of the small group field is found

in the dates which marked the introduction of terms referring specifically to small group research as categories for classification in the *Psychological Abstracts*. The sub-heading "sociometry" was first used in 1940, "group dynamics" in 1945, and "small group" in 1950. Since the early 1940s approximately two thousand pieces of research have been published which are relevant to the study of group dynamics. Textbooks are needed to introduce students to this mass of material and reference works are needed for researchers. Bonner's and Stogdill's books help meet both of these needs.

A. PAUL HARE

Haverford College

Human Relations and Modern Management.

Edited by E. M. HUGH-JONES. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960. x, 256 pp. \$6.00.

This volume initiates a series of Studies in Industrial Economics. It has been written by American, British, and Dutch authors, edited in England, printed in the Netherlands, and published in the United States. A major aim of the volume and the intended series is to encourage the kind of international collaboration and communication it will exemplify.

The boundaries and character of the series are presumably set by the label "industrial economics." What this label may mean is not immediately evident to the American reader. Perhaps it is in the Netherlands, where the general editor of the series, J. L. Meij, is Professor of Industrial Economics at Groningen, or in England where there is a *Journal of Industrial Economics*. But it must be a very broad field if, in addition to the volume here under review, books on mechanization in agriculture, depreciation and replacement policy, wage structure, and the regulation of competition, fall readily within it. One suspects that "industrial economics" denotes not a field but an approach to economic phenomena, an approach that is institutional, sociological, and applied, with a respectful insistence on the inadequacies of economic theory. The series is addressed to both academic readers and business men, and one of the aims is to increase their contacts.

The eight essays in *Human Relations and Modern Management* cover the familiar domain of "human relations" as the subject is known in American business schools, and considerably more. W. H. Scott and E. Wight Bakke set forth what may now be called the classical doctrine of formal and informal structures, of participation and consultations. The tone of Bakke's essay is mildly hortatory; he has pitched it for the managers in the audience. Robert L. Kahn adds information and sub-

stance in recounting the work in this field of the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. Two essays are devoted to organized labor. Edwin Young's is a clear though elementary account of the development of collective bargaining in the United States. The corresponding piece on Britain by N. S. Ross is much less clear and not very informative about British trade unionism, but it does make a hard try at general analysis of the unions as an adversary agency in the structure of modern industry.

Two of the essays take "human relations" to mean something rather broader and colder than the main tradition would have them. E. F. L. Brech writes on "Human Relations in the Board Room" in a way that stresses human qualities effective through other means than promoting integration. He also gives evidence that the doctrines of broad managerial responsibility we have been hearing from American business are being urged on British business, too. Meij, in his introductory piece, puts his emphasis on management as control and gives more attention to formal organizational structure than do the other authors. Some concern with structure also enters the last essay to be mentioned—in which R. W. Revans discusses size effects with some evident feeling against large organizations but rather inconclusive data.

There is a fair amount of original theory, speculation, and research mixed with much exposition of the well-known in these essays. The American professional reader is likely to find the mixture bland, but here and there the spice of novelty rewards.

FRANCIS X. SUTTON
The Ford Foundation

Social Science Research on Business: Product and Potential. By ROBERT A. DAHL, MASON HAIRE, and PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. 185 pp. \$3.00.

Those with serious interest in social science research in the field of business and industry will find this collection of three papers, while far from overwhelming, moderately provocative and useful for orientation purposes.

In terms of stimulation, imagination, and a fresh look, honors should go to Robert Dahl, the political scientist in this trio. He has broken out of the rut of the political scientists' preoccupation with government regulation of business and mapped out the kinds of things that a science of the dynamics of political order should be studying. This he does under the subtopics of: the business firm as a political order; business relations as a political order; business

and the American political order; and, finally, a brief section on business civilization and the political order. It may well be that a rising generation of graduate students by wearing the colors of political science but riding the steeds of more adequate conceptualizations and research technology than are usually available to those studying in their specialty will put their discipline well out ahead in significant research in the field here considered.

Psychology has had a longer working relation with business and industry than any of the other social science disciplines except economics. This condition is reflected in the solid and mature discussion by Mason Haire. His paper is organized around three traditions of psychology in industry, namely, human engineering, personnel psychology, and human relations or industrial social psychology, and gives an excellent orientation to achievements to date. But age and seniority have their disadvantages. In the case of psychology in business and industry, achievement has led to serious danger of atrophy of the imagination, especially in the more established specialties. Haire's article would seem to indicate that new vitality and flexibility will come through large borrowings of ideas and perspectives from sociology and anthropology. Even here, however, psychologists have not been able to break through the limitations of a comfortable monadic thought form, so the dawn is not yet.

The paper by Paul Lazarsfeld is about what could be expected from one who best symbolizes what may be called the consumer survey school of sociology. The author is mainly interested in clarifying and extending the conceptualizations and research technology of what he calls the distributive, morphological, and analytical approaches to the empirical analysis of action. His discussion contains astute and suggestive ideas on the study of consumer actions. He then makes some very interesting suggestions of the possible utility of consumer research approaches for the study of managerial behavior. Within the relatively narrow scope of the author's interests he is fresh and stimulating, but as an exploration of the possibilities of a sociology of business and industrial behavior, the essay is a disappointment.

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.

Russell Sage Foundation

Authority and Organization in German Management. By HEINZ HARTMANN. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1959. xvi, 318 pp. \$6.00.

Professor Hartmann's investigation is one in a series of studies of management sponsored

by the Inter-University Study of Labor Problems in Economic Development, a project which aims at a broad comparative appraisal of managerial systems in the modern world. The author is a native German who received his advanced training in the United States, where he now teaches. His data were derived from approximately 200 interviews with German businessmen and experts on management. These interviews were not evaluated quantitatively; rather, the bulk of the data was gathered in the course of four intensive case studies. The cases were selected to illustrate three different types of management: one of the enterprises was run by an owner-entrepreneur, two companies were operated by professional managements, and one was regulated by the Co-determination Law of 1951, which requires labor representation on the Board of Directors of large corporations in the steel and mining industries, as well as representation in the top management ranks by a Labor Director who shares equally in the managerial responsibilities for the whole company with his top executive colleagues.

It is Hartmann's thesis that the specific nature of German industrial organization can best be understood in terms of the bases of managerial authority. He distinguishes two general types of managerial authority: ultimate and functional authority. German management bases its authority primarily on a threefold system of ultimate values: the concept of private property, rooted in Natural Law; the Calling, derived from the will of God; and an ideology which claims elite status for the managers. The typical German executive asserts his authority and expects obedience from subordinates on the basis of one or another, or all, of these non-rational values. By contrast, American management is held to emphasize functional authority based on expert know-how.

In a series of well-argued analyses, Hartmann shows how the ultimate nature of managerial authority explains many characteristic features of German industry: the peacefulness of management-labor relations, the stability of its paternalistic management, the emphasis on charismatic leadership qualities in executive training, and the aggressive ascendancy of organized business in contemporary German politics. On the whole the author presents a convincing case, although he recognizes that basic changes toward greater emphasis on functional authority are inevitably underway. Moreover, at least in the case of codetermination, authoritarian values have been replaced by democratic ones. Authority based on democratic values is no less ultimate, of course, but

its effects are quite different, leading to greater decentralization and wider scope for functional organization.

Perhaps the weakest point in the book is the categorical assertion that American management is based on functional authority. Actually, values and ideologies also play a considerable role in American management. *Prima facie* evidence is readily available in the massive "public relations" advertising campaigns conducted by big business on a continuous basis. Moreover, Sutton *et al.* have analyzed the role of ideology to some extent in their *American Business Creed*. It is true, however, as Hartmann points out, that the relationships between authority and industrial organization in this country need much greater elucidation than they have received to date.

KURT B. MAYER

Brown University

Automation and the Worker: A Study of Social Change in Power Plants. By FLOYD C. MANN and L. RICHARD HOFFMAN. New York: Henry Holt and Co. (Holt-Dryden Book), 1960. xiv, 272 pp. \$4.50.

Automation and the Worker reports one of the most comprehensive and detailed case studies of the introduction of automated equipment yet published. The study consists of a comparison of two electric power plants: one, a new plant in which the most modern equipment and elaborate automatic control devices had been installed and, the other, a plant in the same company in which more conventional power production techniques were in use. The data reported were collected almost exclusively through questionnaires administered to employees in the two plants. The questions asked reflect an exceptionally thorough understanding of the research site and the quality of the data collected is partly attributable to an especially felicitous combination of initial field observational and subsequent questionnaire research techniques.

Differences were found between the two power plants in maintenance procedures, size of work force, organizational structure, informal interaction patterns, job content, job satisfaction, shift schedules, attitudes toward shift work, supervisory procedures, and attitudes toward supervision. The findings regarding attitudes toward job security are particularly interesting and indicate that the effects of automation are not limited to the particular plant or office in which the automated equipment is introduced. The data suggest that the

opening of the more highly automated plant tended to reduce feelings of job security especially in the *older* plants in the company.

The synchronic, comparative design of this study has some limitations for the analysis of social change. It is difficult to tell using this model whether the concurrently observed attitudinal and organizational differences between the two plants may be regarded as attitudinal and organizational changes. A key question here is whether these differences are attributable to the change in technology or are associated with other differing characteristics of the two plants which are not so easily specifiable in a time series. Some of the observed differences may simply reflect the fact that one of the plants was unionized and the other not, that the building and facilities in one plant were new while in the other they were not, that one plant was in a rural area and the other in an urban area, or that there were differences in a "managerial philosophy" in the two plants.

A distinction should also be made between the attitudinal and social organizational concomitants of advanced technology and those of technological change. It is not always clear whether the observed differences are changes in response to *new* production processes or disruptions of old patterns in response to the *newness* of production processes. The value of this research, however, is not contingent upon its being a study of social change. The main emphasis of the book does not, in fact, appear to be upon social change as indicated by the subtitle but upon the attitudinal correlates of differences in the work environments of the two plants.

A defect which this study shares with all the research in this area which has preceded it is the difficulty of generalizing beyond the specific research site. One reason these studies have not been cumulative is that a wide variety of types of recent technological innovations have been included under the rubric, "automation." A more serious problem, however, is the lack of a conceptual model to apply to the study of the relationship between technological and social change which permits analysis of commonalities abstracted from various change situations. Studies in this area will remain descriptive and particularistic in the absence of such a model. The data reported in *Automation and the Worker* make an important contribution to the informational base from which analytical models may be constructed.

WILLIAM A. FAUNCE
Michigan State University

The Israeli Worker: Achievements, Attitudes, and Aspirations. By FERDYNAND ZWEIG. New York: Herzl Press and Sharon Books, 1959. xiii, 305 pp. \$5.00.

In this book, a labor economist describes salient features of the economic life of the Jewish worker (Arabs are discussed only tangentially) in Israel. The method used to gather data raises serious questions. Zweig made use of miscellaneous published and unpublished statistics (mainly no more recent than 1955), three undescribed questionnaires mostly with very low response (for example, one sent to 350 managers was answered by 28), and his own interviews and factory visits, mainly in the summer of 1955 during a period when he was Visiting Professor of Labor Relations at the Hebrew University. He states he "recorded 392 interviews (having 'the character of informal conversations') and visited 59 workplaces," and these seem to be his main sources. The resulting vagueness on how he gathered his materials makes it difficult to evaluate the reliability or validity of his statements, particularly since he does not hesitate to go beyond description to evaluation and even recommendations (for instance, that the workday be shortened for many workers). To make matters still more difficult, he reportedly made almost no attempt to check his detailed statements with the many available studies by expert students of Israel, such as the widely known and read Eisenstadt, Spiro, Patai, and Bonné.

The book, the reviewer feels, should be regarded as the report of an intelligent, experienced observer on his main impressions and judgments while in Israel. When so viewed, the book has many merits. The reviewer found valuable Zweig's summary of collective agreements and working conditions, and the brief discussion of the formal organization of the Histadruth (the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Israel). Less rewarding but containing useful data were thumbnail sketches of various types of workers, including building workers, agricultural wage earners, and industrial workers. Though only a small audience would profit from reading the book through to the end, the student of labor and industrial relations will find it worth consulting in various places.

EDWARD GROSS

University of Minnesota

A Punjabi Village in Pakistan. By ZEKIYE EGLAR. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. xxiv, 240 pp. \$6.00.

As compared with India over the last few years, the rural life of Pakistan has received

little attention from social anthropologists and the subject is not by any means adequately represented in the universities of Pakistan. Miss Eglar had the great fortune to spend some five years in the area of her study and her book was expected with some enthusiasm. One cannot but judge it in the light of the opportunities available to her and from this point of view it is disappointing. I suspect that this sense of disappointment is in great measure due to the amount of space wasted by a journalistic style with literary pretensions. One does not after all want or need to be told that "in the life of the village people, which is close to nature, the moon is not only a source of light but also a means of safety and joy." At least, one doesn't want to be told this if it is at the expense of particular detail. There are two closely related questions that any Indian sociologist wants to ask of Pakistani material—the place of caste (if it has one) and the nature of Islam in the rural and basically Indic setting. Miss Eglar gives a brief chapter on the castes in the village which I am afraid is superficial by any standards as a description and takes no account of the comparative material. One has no idea at all of the modifications of caste in this Muslim setting. On religion we have a chapter called "The Calendar of Religion," seven pages, which briefly lists the Muslim festivals observed and gives an account of religious attitudes which is more edifying than illuminating.

Positively the book contains a summary account of the family and land-holdings but here again one would wish to know the interplay of customary joint-family law with the Islamic rules of inheritance, but one learns nothing. The chapters covering the village (and the village in winter, a separate chapter), land, caste, religion, kinship and marriage, comprise half of the book. The remaining half is given over to the discussion of an institution known as *vertan bhanji*—a formalized reciprocal gift-exchange by which relationships between families within the caste and between castes are created and maintained. This is interesting and obviously important but it is disproportionate. Had the author chosen this institution as a device through which to study the various aspects of Punjabi village life some coordination of facts and depth of sociological understanding might have been achieved; but standing as it does after and separated from a remarkably superficial description it is with difficulty that one can arrive at the nature of the relationships which are being created and maintained in this way.

In a brief Foreword Professor Margaret

Mead draws a parallel between the chance that kept Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands and the circumstances that enabled Miss Eglar to have equally a field-experience beyond the hopes of most modern anthropologists. It is an unfortunate comparison. Apart from all else, Malinowski was writing about an isolated people and any information that he could have given would have been of the highest value. Also he had very little in the way of a common body of theory which could lead him on to particular enquiries and general formulations. The anthropology of field-work is to a great extent his creation. Miss Eglar has chosen to write as if her position were analogous, which it evidently is not.

There is apparently a sequel in preparation. I cannot conceive that five years of intimate experience in the village have had so little effect as the present book suggests and I hope that Miss Eglar, by taking cognizance of the work done in India by her American, Indian, and English colleagues, will bring that rich experience which she has had to the level of sociological consciousness.

DAVID POCOCK

University of Oxford

English Rural Life: Village Activities, Organisations and Institutions. By H. E. BRACEY. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; New York: Humanities Press, 1960. xiv. 288 pp. \$6.00.

During the past three decades, the rapid erosion of the English countryside by the encroaching tide of urban life has inspired an extensive literature devoted to the rural scene. Much of it constitutes a latter-day species of pastoralism; much of it is merely appreciative description, heavily flavored with sentiment and nostalgia. But it also includes some impressionistic studies of scholarly value, perhaps the best of which is Victor Bonham-Carter's cursory but informative *The English Village*. Curiously enough, the one thing that is conspicuously absent is a substantial corpus of rural sociology by professional scholars. Only recently has careful field work begun to produce community studies like W. M. Williams' excellent *The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth* and occupational studies like his *The Country Craftsman*; only recently have there begun to appear general surveys like H. E. Bracey's *English Rural Life*.

Bracey's work is essentially a conspectus of "village activities, organizations and institutions," as its subtitle proclaims. It overlooks nothing of significance within these broad and somewhat ambiguous categories: whist drives,

dances, pub patronage, cinema-going, are examined along with organs of local government, welfare agencies, libraries, schools, churches, and voluntary societies like the British Legion and Women's Institute. But this admirable comprehensiveness unavoidably weakens the work, for it examines so many different subjects that it can treat few of them with any degree of thoroughness. Nevertheless, considered as a whole, it brings together an extraordinary amount of relevant detail.

But Bracey's work presents much more than a synoptic view and a wealth of descriptive data. It includes a deftly executed historical sketch of the evolution of the English rural community. It considers such vital matters as the effects of rural migration, the impact of commuting, the infiltration of retired townsmen, the changes in village leadership, and the failure of the green-belt concept in rural planning. In short, its scope amply justifies its title.

With the utilitarian bent that is perhaps even more characteristic of English rural sociologists than of their American counterparts, Bracey designed his work to appeal to "the great variety of people from all walks of life who are interested in the countryside." But few serious students of contemporary English society will read it without being stimulated and instructed.

J. JEAN HECHT

Stanford University

Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries. By E. J. HOBBESBAWM. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. vii, 208 pp. \$5.00.

Studies of revolutionary movements in modern industrial society abound, and various types of rebellion in non-literate societies and in the European Middle Ages have been analyzed by social historians and anthropologists. But very little attention has been paid so far to certain "archaic" and pre-modern social movements which flourished in nineteenth and twentieth century Europe. Mr. Hobsbawm's volume makes a promising beginning at filling the gap. His studies of Italian and Spanish millenarian peasant movements, of social bandits in southern Italy, of the Sicilian Maffia remind one of Mannheim's dictum about the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous. Well into the twentieth century there flourished movements of revolt which might seem to parallel those of the fourteenth century, which were given their characteristic stamp by the fact that they were attempts by rural folk to cope by dreams and violence with an impinging industrial way of life. These peasants could not understand

the industrial world and they were not yet equipped to come to terms with it. Their movements were essentially pre-political but they differed from earlier forms insofar as they were attempts at revolt of rural people on the margin of modern society. Their participants were, so to speak, "first-generation immigrants" within their very nations whose movements of revolt were inarticulate attempts to define a mode of adaptation to industrial society.

This series of studies—which also includes discussions of certain pre-political movements of the city poor—provides a wealth of descriptive detail, but it is analytical as well. While the author seems unfamiliar with sociological conceptualization—thus missing the opportunity, for example, of following up some of Karl Mannheim's suggestive leads—he uses class analysis with considerable sophistication.

The book makes an excellent contribution to the sociology of social movements as well as to the study of social conflict. Students of the sociological determinants of time perspectives will find it especially rewarding.

LEWIS A. COSER

Brandeis University

Social Change in Rural Society: A Textbook in Rural Sociology. By EVERETT M. ROGERS. Sociology Series. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960. xi, 490 pp. \$6.75.

This new text in rural sociology was written with the student in mind. The content was based on a survey of introductory rural sociology courses in 77 schools. The vocabulary and sentence structure were adjusted according to the Flesch test and the Dale-Chall readability formula. The student approach is further witnessed by the introduction of concepts with examples from experiences that would be familiar to a college-age reader. This does not mean that the book was written down; a readable style is combined with a wealth of well-documented facts.

The book attempts to present a picture of the changing rural scene rather than be an encyclopedia of rural sociology. Part I, "Introduction," begins with a chapter on change followed by a discussion of the nature of rural sociology. Part II, "Sociological Background," introduces general sociological concepts. It contains a chapter on "Culture, Personality, and Social Change," one on "Group Relationships," and a third on "Social Classes." Part III, "Rural Institutions in Action," contains chapters on community, family, church, school, farmer organizations, government agencies, and agribusiness. The final section of the book, "How Changes Are Affecting Rural Society,"

covers "Rural Social Problems," "Communication of Agricultural Technology," "Agricultural Adjustment and Population Change," "Rural Sociologists and Development Abroad," and "Rural Society in the Future." A departure from the traditional text in rural sociology is the absence of one or more chapters on demography. Population data are integrated into several chapters. Since the reports on the 1960 census of population and of agriculture will soon be available, this is fortunate. This reviewer found that the best chapters were those on farmer organizations, government agricultural agencies, and communications of agricultural technology. The last is Roger's major field of research. The poorest chapter was the final one, "Rural Society in the Future," in which regional summaries were too short to be of much value.

In general this text is consistent with its stated objectives. Actual trial in the classroom, however, will be the acid test of the degree to which Rogers gaged the needs of the students. Instructors of rural sociology with enrollments composed primarily of non-majors in sociology would do well to give this text thoughtful consideration.

WILFRID C. BAILEY

Mississippi State University

American Society. By DON MARTINDALE. Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1960. x, 570 pp. \$6.75.

Sociologists who teach introductory courses still uneasily face a dilemma which no longer exists for their colleagues in the natural sciences, and which is no longer so pressing for their counterparts in economics and psychology. In sociology, the teacher of beginning students has to choose between two conceptions of what his course ought to accomplish and also between two associated kinds of textbook and supplementary reading. On the one hand, he can choose to be as systematic as possible, stressing the theoretical conceptions and methodological instruments that make up the essence of sociology as a science, using his historical, comparative, and contemporary substantive data primarily as illustrations of sociology as systematic analysis. On the other hand, he can emphasize substantive points of view and factual data, organizing his course more discursively and choosing the reading accordingly, in order to present sociology as essentially a body of accumulated knowledge and practically useable orientations to the world in which we live. The choice, in this dilemma, is not necessarily a choice between degrees of quality. There are good and bad

courses and books of both kinds. But the problem of choosing is nonetheless difficult.

As indeed its very title indicates, Professor Martindale's *American Society* is a book which will be of interest to those who are temporarily or permanently opting for substance rather than systematic theory and method. It is a good book of its kind, and of course it leans much on sociological theory and method, though there is more use of the "popular sociologists" than systematic books would probably include. But its predominant concern is with sociological points of view and descriptive data. Using historical and comparative as well as contemporary materials in all its parts, the book is introduced by a first section in which the several chapters define "mass society" and assert a somewhat more optimistic view about this broad and rather vague subject than is currently adopted by some other writers. In the second section, the changing forms of the American community are treated, including chapters on such topics as "The Rise and Fall of the American Rural Community," "The Crisis of the American City," and "The Formation of the American Nation." The third section deals with the "social institutions of mass society," stressing socialization, the economy, the theory of social control, and institutions of influence and power. The last section of the book is on the social history and contemporary situation of play and art in American society. Many sociologists who prefer the substantive approach to their introductory courses will want to consider Professor Martindale's book for possible adoption.

BERNARD BARBER

Barnard College, Columbia University

Southern Tradition and Regional Progress. By WILLIAM H. NICHOLLS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. xix, 202 pp. \$5.00.

Howard W. Odum's ghost must have been as refreshed by the appearance of this book as was that of Agamemnon by Athena's defense of Orestes. Here, once more, is a scholar goading the South toward the better life as an integral part of the nation, much as Odum did. Further, here is a scholar who sees the problems of race and of agrarian life as the core of the dilemma faced by the region. And, since Nicholls is an economist, it must have been pleasant for the shade of Odum to welcome him into the faith, even though he appeared some twenty years late.

The essence of Nicholls' work is that the traditions of the South block the progress of

the region; not only economically, but politically, psychologically, ideologically. But ". . . the race issue dominates all other elements of the picture. While the Negro was physically emancipated from the Southern white in 1862, the psychological emancipation of the Southern white from the Negro is yet to be achieved a century later. As Jonathon Daniels recently put it, 'The Whites have sometimes seemed to carry segregation to the point of insisting upon carrying the Negro as a load'" (p. 176). And the Negro has been too heavy a load for the poorest region of the nation to carry.

Cherished Southern traditions—in the form of agrarian values, as aristocratic forms lacking the *noblesse oblige* of the true aristocrat, as an anti-democratic political structure, as a deadening force in education through fear of school desegregation and consequent refusal to accept social responsibility—form barriers to the economic, social, and political advancement which the resources, human and other, found in the region would indicate could be realized. "To use a medical analogy, I believe that the Southern economy is basically in good health, but it has certain gangrenous appendages which must be amputated if the central body is to thrive and prosper. The surgical problem would be a simple one if the patient did not mistakenly insist—whether from ignorance, stubbornness, or vanity,—that these mortified parts are essential to his very life" (p. x). Obviously, Professor Nicholls is not one to eschew value premises.

Nicholls' book raises again the question of the value of the regionalism of Odum, Vance, and others at the University of North Carolina some twenty years ago. In spite of its frankly teleological bias, this movement was the basis for the recognition of two of the presidents of the American Sociological Society. Essentially, these scholars were doing the same thing now being attempted by Nicholls: trying to change the ideology of the South so that its technology might make needed readjustment, and pinning their hope of a better life on an inversion of the Marxist-technologist thesis. Further, they insisted on an interdisciplinary approach to the problems of the region, in a way, a harking back to the older braver days of a general sociology or perhaps a generalized social science. Perhaps Nicholls has pointed up the need for a re-examination of the fundamental premises of this sociological movement, particularly in view of the inescapable truth that the world in which we live is becoming more macroscopic by the minute.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

University of Texas

Studies in Housing and Minority Groups. Edited by NATHAN GLAZER and DAVIS McENTIRE. Introduction by NATHAN GLAZER. Special Report to the Commission on Race and Housing. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. xvii, 228 pp. \$6.00.

This volume presents the results of seven studies of housing and housing opportunities for ethnic minorities in nine American cities. The studies were sponsored by the Commission on Race and Housing, with financial support from the Fund for the Republic. Practical in aim, modest in theoretical scope, they constitute one of the most exciting recent contributions to the literature of ethnic relations.

Here is comparative information on a key area of inter-ethnic relations, cast within a framework of change and stability. In each case the scholars ask: What is the relative distribution of housing for minority and "others"? What are the constraints which mold the pattern? How did this come about? Where does one find pressure for change? Where has such pressure been effective in the past? Where is it likely to "break through" in the future? These questions are not only relevant to social action; they are crucial to any dynamic analysis of the ethnic stratification system.

Robert Thompson, Hylan Lewis, and Davis McEntire report a comparative study of Atlanta, the southern city in which the Negro's share is most comparable to that of the whites and has increased most markedly, and Birmingham, where the opposite occurs. Jack Dodson compares the housing situation of Negroes and of Mexicans in San Antonio, together with that of Negroes in Houston. Forrest LaViolette, with Joseph Taylor and Giles Hubert, describes the present and recent past in New Orleans, and Elizabeth Virrick presents comparable data for Dade County (Miami). Morris Eagle reports on Puerto Rican housing in New York; Harry Kitano discusses the very different situation of Japanese-Americans in the San Francisco Bay area, and Albert Mayer presents a sensitive description and penetrating analysis of white to Negro changeover in a middle-class Detroit neighborhood.

To repeat, the great value of the book is the wide range of situations described in comparable terms; we are not lost in a sea of census data for the country at large, nor are we imurred in a single city. As Nathan Glazer emphasizes, "these studies deal with the special rather than the general; with local forces, rather than national forces; with groups in their local peculiarities, rather than with groups in their large, general characteristics." Such

comparative case analysis is, however, precisely the most useful way of reaching the level of the general. For the range of situations described leads to the conclusion that it is precisely at the level of local forces that the determinants of housing opportunities operate and can be studied.

And Mr. Glazer, in his introduction, takes a long stride toward a systematic theory which will explain the variance found. The major propositions he advances are six in number; they deserve careful study.

If one is looking for efficient causes of expansion or contraction in ethnic housing opportunities from these studies, it would appear that he can go furthest fastest by concentrating on the organization and culture of the banking, real estate, and construction complex; the organization and culture of the local governmental complex; and the way these complexes in combination handle the key issues of ethnic housing, namely, financing and site selection. The ethnic minority can, of course, influence "the handle" through development of ethnic banking, real estate and construction firms, and through development of effective political strength.

SCOTT A. GREER

Northwestern University

Liberal Education in the Professions. By EARL J. MCGRATH. Published for the Institute of Higher Education. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959. vi, 63 pp. \$1.50, paper.

The Graduate School and the Decline of Liberal Education. By EARL J. MCGRATH. Published for the Institute of Higher Education. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959. vii, 65 pp. \$1.50, paper.

In these two essays a prominent educator describes and assesses certain trends in higher education. Pervading both essays is a firm belief in the value of general education and a deep concern with the extent to which American colleges and universities currently emphasize narrow specialization. The scope of McGrath's scrutiny is broad, and his conclusions and recommendations for change are no less so.

To combat overspecialization, particularly in undergraduate professional schools, McGrath does not advocate uncritical return to earlier programs of liberal education. For as he tries to show in *Liberal Education in the Professions*, there is no longer a sound basis for sharply distinguishing between "liberal" and "professional" training. The purposes of liberal education today are "to instill knowledge; to

cultivate intellectual skills; and to nurture the traits of personality and character basic to a reasoned and responsible life" (p. 61). Professional education can and should achieve these goals, the author argues, through broadened curricula that harmoniously balance technical and general courses. He sees as a major obstacle hindering such integration the paucity of truly "general" courses offered by most undergraduate departments. The apparent cause and cure for this condition receive detailed attention in *The Graduate School and the Decline of Liberal Education*. There McGrath suggests that the major responsible agent is our graduate schools, where specialization and research are stressed at the expense of broad knowledge and training for teaching. When students so educated become teachers of undergraduates—as many do—they naturally wish to teach what they have learned. Thus, the author asserts, overspecialization is born and maintained. The remedy he offers involves early identification of prospective teachers and researchers among graduate students. For the researchers, present graduate curricula would suffice, but for the teachers a new, broader course of studies and a "synthesizing" type of dissertation would be required.

Not all readers will agree with McGrath's analysis of our educational plight, and more than a few will find unrealistic his recommendations for change in graduate school training. The author's tendency to argue by means of apt examples rather than on the basis of systematic evidence will alienate some, as will the dichotomy envisaged between preparation for teaching as compared with research. The essays deal with timely, important issues, however, and the opinions presented deserve attention from all who have a stake in the future character of higher education in the United States.

MARY E. W. GOSS

*The New York Hospital—
Cornell Medical Center*

The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis. By OSCAR HANDLIN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. xiii, 171 pp. \$4.00.

One of a series of books dealing with the twenty-two county area constituting the New York Metropolitan Region, Professor Handlin's report is packed with useful data. The method used to understand present-day ethnic groups is largely historical. The difficulties of Negroes and Puerto Ricans are seen, not as altogether new and therefore insoluble, but as the most recent of a long series of adjustments on the part of marginal wage earners.

During the first 200 years of the city's existence, New York's diverse groups had relatively little difficulty in adjusting, but for the past 140 years, the older residents have viewed with alarm the arrival of newcomers. To provide a background for analyzing the two most recent immigrant groups, considerable attention is given to the occupational opportunities, housing problems, social disorders, and internal communal structures of the Germans, the Irish, the Italians, and the Jews. Two significant differences in the adjustment of Negroes and Puerto Ricans—as compared with earlier immigrants—are stressed: the color factor, at a time when a significant amount of social tension is related to color; and rapid suburban expansion.

Despite the easing of the employment problem since 1939, Negroes and Puerto Ricans have had only limited success in escaping from the ranks of unskilled labor. Housing is referred to again and again, and its relation to economic status, education, and neighborhood resources is shown. This study included a survey of the motives for migration to the suburbs by Negro families who moved out of the Riverton apartments. No respondent suggested that an integrated neighborhood was in itself a reason for moving and relatively few gave any weight at all to this factor. The author thinks that, just as common interests led to the development of coherent communities among the Irish, the Jews, and the Italians, communities offering a variety of types of accommodations without the stigma of inferiority will be developed by Negroes.

Delinquency is held to be due largely to the forces that weaken the sense of purpose in life in individuals rather than to inherent group characteristics. According to Handlin, the attitudes of New Yorkers will determine whether the city's most recent immigrants are to be integrated into the life of the metropolis or are to become foes of the existing order.

Voluntary organizations among Negroes and Puerto Ricans have not yet played a role comparable to that taken by the communal associations of earlier immigrant groups. Like previous observers, the author finds that the Negro elite is weak and incoherent and that it includes too many "interpreters," docile clergymen, and demagogues. Recently, politics and the struggle for civil rights have stimulated group consciousness among both the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans. Handlin's thesis is that, if the differences which identify these groups lose their stigmatizing effect, they may provide a basis for the development of healthy ethnic communities.

GEORGE E. SIMPSON
Oberlin College

Money Metropolis: A Locational Study of Financial Activities in the New York Region. By SIDNEY M. ROBBINS and NESTOR E. TERLECKYJ. With the collaboration of IRA O. SCOTT, JR. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960. xviii, 294 pp. \$5.00.

What takes place in Wall Street's canyons? An answer is now at hand in the perceptive fifth in a series of nine study reports prepared by Harvard's Graduate School of Public Administration. Ideally, it should be read in connection with the first, *Anatomy of a Metropolis: The Changing Distribution of People and Jobs Within the New York Metropolitan Region*. The book reviewed here was written mainly by two economists as part of the New York Metropolitan Region Study sponsored by the Regional Plan Association, Inc., under the direction of Raymond Vernon.

The first two chapters deal with the origin and characteristics of the money market. Five chapters then examine in detail the major foci of the area in their New York and nationwide context: commercial banking, life and health insurance, property insurance, and securities. The final chapter provides forecasts up to 1985. The financial activities involved in Money Metropolis employ 300,000 persons in one fourth of all Manhattan's office buildings.

Since reviews by economists will be numerous, this one centers on points of interest to sociologists, particularly—but not exclusively—to specialists in large metropolitan areas and urban institutions.

The pecuniary nexus of national life is nowhere enshrined and exemplified as in Manhattan south of 60th Street, especially in "Downtown" or "Wall Street." There is grist for sociologist's mills in these pages and the beckoning subjects they suggest for research. The economists have skillfully detailed the skeleton; sociologists might profitably lay on the invisible and visible flesh. Certainly we need more sociological exploration of the money market core members' "compelling need to be physically close to one another," and of the complex relationships among "top management" at the inside and outside rings surrounding the core. The locational history related to the competition between Downtown and Midtown as intensively undertaken here invites further research on the ecological processes involved. Here, if anywhere, is the subject matter for a significant study of dominance in our society. The Money Metropolis is eminently suited to research on the delicate interplay of institutions and specialized services they may require, of the "tangible intangibles" that affect the money-market specialists concentrated in six-tenths of one square mile of Chambers Street

as they interact to move their "far-reaching heavy hand in the nation's business."

Not so incidentally, this study sets a high standard for presenting a technical subject in readable, intelligible language. This, too, sociologists might profitably emulate.

GERALD BREESE

Princeton University

Indagine Sull'Integrazione Sociale In Due Quartieri Di Roma. By ARNOLD M. ROSE. Rome: Istituto di Statistica, 1959. 105 pp. No price indicated, paper.

This is a report of a sample survey of social integration in two low-income areas in Rome. It concerns the empirical relations among social contact and communication, and responses to Adorno's Authoritarian Scale, Srole's Anomie Scale and Guttman's Community Cooperation Scale. The field work was done by students from the sociology seminar at the University of Rome, under the author's direction.

The results are modest and, in some respects, disappointing. However, this is to be expected from a survey of this type, organized on a *tabula rasa*, and indeed most of its shortcomings are discussed by the author and in Professor Castellano's introduction.

Many observers have remarked the prominence of individualism in Rome and Southern Italy. Professor Rose attempts to throw light on this subject but it eludes his questionnaires. He comes closest to the problem in his appendix on the laws which inhibit voluntary associations in Italy. He thus avoids the criticism level at other American sociologists in Italy that they pay no attention to the relevant Italian documentation. But he does not pursue his reading very far. If he had examined further the vast Italian documents on associations, he would have found that Italy's laws do not adequately explain Italian individualism. Some parts of Italy are rich in associations, although the same laws apply as in Rome.

A one-shot sample survey of individual responses to scheduled interviews does not reveal the structural context of social integration in an unfamiliar society. Perhaps more meaningful and coherent results could be obtained by a combination of ethnographic observation and informal interviews with a strict sample of scheduled interviews. While the long-term field-work in Italy by Banfield, Cappannari, Moss, and Pitkin is less reliable statistically than Rose's survey, it is more valid and complete.

The importance of this study lies in the fact that it is a milestone in Italian sociology and also an illuminating exercise in the transplantation of American sociology.

JOHN S. McDONALD

United Nations, New York

BOOK NOTES

Soziologie Als Wissenschaft Vom Sozialen Handeln. By HOWARD BECKER. Auf der Grundlage einer Übersetzung von HELMUT VIEBROCK. Bearbeitet und Herausgegeben von BURKHART HOLZNER. Wurzburg: Holzner Verlag, 1959. 402 pp. 35.—DM.

This publication is a German translation of Howard Becker's *Through Values to Social Interpretation*, and includes an illuminating introductory comment by Burkhardt Holzner. In the present work, as in many of his other publications, Becker closely follows Max Weber's fruitful interpretation of selected phases of historical development.

Although other sociologists have explored history, none has done so with the intense concern for historical phenomena which marks Howard Becker's work. Certainly none has matched his emphasis on values and reinterpretation of history. Clearly, he stands out from the dominant trend of modern sociology in the United States, a trend which is primarily devoted to widening the empirical approach to contemporary phenomena.

It is heartening to learn that Howard Becker's work is now accessible to scholars in Germany, the country from which he has drawn much of his material and inspiration and where his writing is regarded as a continuation of the work of Max Weber.—SVEND RIEMER

Internationales Soziologen Lexikon: Unter der Mitarbeit zahlreicher Fachleute de In- und Auslandes. Edited by WILHELM BERNSDORF in collaboration with HORST KNOSPE. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1959. viii, 662 pp. No price indicated.

This is an extensive "Who's Who in Sociology." Brief biographical sketches stressing date of birth, colleges and universities attended, nature of dissertations, and principal contributions. Individual articles vary in length from ten pages to ten lines. Included are not only sociologists from many countries, but also philosophers, social philosophers, "socialists," statesmen, economists, a large number of anthropologists, criminologists, demographers, and social psychologists.

Materials were assembled by contributors in different countries. The resultant reportage is somewhat heterogeneous with respect to the manner and sequence with which the articles are organized. The book provides much "inside dope" and should prove useful especially to those who are teaching courses in sociological or anthropological theory.—H. C.

Sociology of Religion. By GEORG SIMMEL. Translated from the German by CURT ROSENTHAL. New York: Philosophical Press, 1960. x, 76 pp. \$3.75.

Though Georg Simmel's *Sociology of Religion* appeared in German in 1905 it was not translated into English until 1959. In view of Simmel's turgid style Curt Rosenthal has done a creditable job. Nevertheless this small book remains tough reading.

This reviewer found it thought-provoking both for historical and contemporary reasons. Historically, it illustrates the extent to which ideas basic to a sociological study of religion pervaded the intellectual atmosphere of Durkheim's and Weber's day. In the introduction Feliks Gross points out that Simmel's main thesis "that religion is reflected in social relationships is basically not so different from that of Max Weber." Furthermore, Simmel's stress on the integrative quality of religion aligns him with Durkheim. Nonetheless Simmel's approach is peculiarly his own. He differs from Weber and Durkheim in his lack of contact with empirical data, his philosophical-theological emphasis, and almost exclusive preoccupation with Judeo-Christianity.

Paradoxically this approach gives Simmel's insights their originality and contemporary interest, though it may repel some sociologists. Students of the history and philosophy of religion, however, may find it especially valuable precisely because it meets them on their own ground and thence extends their awareness of the sociological implications of doctrine and belief.—ELIZABETH K. NOTTINGHAM

Young Man Luther: A Study on Psychoanalysis and History. By ERIK H. ERIKSON. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1958. 288 pp. \$4.50.

Erik Erikson, who hardly needs introduction to social scientists as a psychoanalytic theorist of unusual originality and insight, has written an extraordinarily stimulating book on Luther's way to the Reformation. The author draws on ego theory in late Freudian psychoanalysis, elaborates it and extends it into his own work on the problem of the development of personal identity, and combines the whole with an account in depth of Luther's early personal crises. Erikson proceeds with considerable awareness of the *lacunae* in his data—and of the leaps of imagination necessary to overcome them. He has taken the trouble, and considerable trouble it must have been, to work from origi-

nal sources: Luther's early writings are not easy, and their comprehension demands some general acquaintance with late scholastic thought. Erikson's approach to these matters is far from superficial, and his trouble has brought its own rewards. His account of the conjunction—and disjunction—between Luther's crisis and the general crisis of late medieval German society is, perhaps, a bit less striking. The analysis is neither as deep nor as profound, and his mastery of the social historical materials is not as pronounced. It too, however, is well worth reading. In short, Erikson has given us an extremely valuable contribution to the social psychology of religion and has shown, again, how fruitful is interdisciplinary work when it is entrusted to individual scholars.—NORMAN BIRNBAUM

Race, Culture and Personality. By SIMON BIESHEUVEL. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1959. 37 pp. 3s.6d.

The Fifteenth Hoernlé Memorial Lecture was given by the Director of the National Institute for Personal Research in Johannesburg. Some of the implications of the Institute's research among urban Africans are explored, partly in terms of ideas developed in Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*. The author has written of the South African situation and does not undertake comparisons with other areas. Readers concerned with processes of industrialization, the sociology of work and industry, or race relations will find interesting material here, although they may wish to question some of the author's conclusions.—C. FRANTZ

Roman Catholicism and the American Way of Life. Edited by THOMAS T. McAVOV, C.S.C. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1960. viii, 248 pp. \$4.50.

Few volumes can claim a more opportune date of publication than this one. The presidential candidacy of Senator John Kennedy in 1960 has already compelled Americans, including social scientists, to face up to some of the issues inherent in "Roman Catholicism and the American way of life." Prepared originally for two symposia at Notre Dame, the essays in this volume attempt to cover the general status of Roman Catholics in the United States and the adjustment of past and present immigrants of the Catholic faith to the American scene.

Besides the editor, a specialist on the history of the Roman Catholic Church in American society, there are 18 contributors representing the three major religious denominations and

the fields of history, law, theology and church administration, political science, and sociology. Unavoidably, the value of the diverse contributions to a sociological audience is uneven, ranging from eulogies to Italians and Poles as good Americans and Catholics to provocative, scholarly pieces by Herberg on the transformation of American society from Protestant domination to a three-religion country, and by Fichter on the question of American Catholics as an ethnic or a religious minority.

The volume succeeds in making the point that "in many ways Catholics have 'arrived' in this country," but there is a disappointing avoidance of the question of church-state relations—except for the incredible statement (p. 112) that "it can be said that the American system of Church-State relations is characterized by an atmosphere of mutual respect and friendly cooperation by people of all faiths."—MILTON L. BARRON

The Role of the District Superintendent in the Methodist Church. By MURRAY H. LEIFFER. Evanston, Ill.: Bureau of Social and Religious Research, Northwestern University, 1960. v, 201 pp. \$3.00.

The 570 District Superintendents of the Methodist Church enact a leadership role second only to that of the Church's 37 Bishops. It is an important functional role through which the Bishop's appointee and representative recruits and licenses ministers, counsels pastors, organizes congregations, reviews church finances, conducts Quarterly Conferences, promotes programs of district boards, participates in cabinet meetings. He has a maximum term of six years during which he acts as the Bishop's inquisitor and trouble-shooter. Each Methodist Bishop has an average of 15 Superintendents and each Methodist jurisdiction an average of 93.

Professor Leiffer divides his study into four parts: the definition of the role, a description of the incumbents, the major functions they perform, and the prospects of increased effectiveness. The factual data are all there, gathered through questionnaires, interviews, and official reports; from Bishops, Superintendents, pastors, secretaries of general boards, district lay leaders, and presidents of women's societies. The data are neatly arranged in 18 tables.

The author recognizes that the Methodist Church has the structural problems of all large-scale organizations. All the trappings of bureaucracy are there with their limitations on functional efficiency. As in any other massive *ecclesia* the central roles are seen not only as regulations of the Church but also as the acrre-

tion of personal experience as well as the outcome of the interpretations of other role-actors. These insights, particularly in Part IV, give the present book a sociological and psychological value beyond its obvious utilitarian purposes.—JOSEPH H. FICHTER

Birth and Death Registration in Massachusetts 1639-1900. By ROBERT GUTMAN. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1959. 115 pp. \$1.00, paper.

It may seem a bit surprising that the General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted in 1639 a law requiring the recording by town clerks of the dates of all births and deaths. However, such records had long been customary in many European cities, and John Graunt was to use the bills of mortality of London a few years later (1662) to lay the foundation of modern vital statistics. What is really surprising is that this law applied to 22 towns founded during the nine years preceding. The main reason was the need of such records for probate cases. Legal needs thus preceded medical, though the latter grew in importance, especially the need to assure proper burial as towns became cities.

Gutman traces the history through four periods, noting the legal advances and the repeated efforts to broaden the scope, improve the accuracy, and speed the publication of the reports. He also sees the growth of civic consciousness; the spread of midwifery and its gradual transfer to physicians and hospitals; the creation of boards of health; and the concurrent broadening of public appreciation and support.

This is a thorough piece of work by one who has searched not only libraries and town histories, but the vital records of 37 towns and the cities of Lowell, Salem, and Boston. It is not exciting history; but as a factual account it will not need to be done again. One may hope the author will bring the record down to at least 1950 and then add a short summary chapter under a simple scheme of topical analysis.—FRANK H. HANKINS

Comparative Studies in Administration. Edited by JAMES D. THOMPSON, PETER B. HAMMOND, ROBERT W. HAWKES, BUFORD H. JUNKER, and ARTHUR TUDEN. Foreword by EDWARD H. LITCHFIELD. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959. xiv, 224 pp. \$6.00.

Despite the efforts of its five editors to provide a framework, this volume is a rather miscellaneous collection. Nine of its twelve chap-

ters consist of articles, mostly by other hands, appearing in well-known and readily accessible journals within the last five years. The introductory chapter by the full battery of editors seldom rises above the level of platitude, and the prefaces to the various sections are not much better.

On the other hand, when the editors write singly or in pairs, in a couple of new chapters and two reprinted pieces, the results are quite stimulating. Hammond, for example, contributes a new chapter on "The Functions of Indirection in Communication" which argues that indirection is favored in functionally diffuse relationships involving particularistic behavioral standards. Under this rubric can be placed not only the anthropologist's well-known "joking" relationships and mother-in-law avoidance, but also the "primary" aspects of superior-subordinate and staff-line contacts in bureaucracies. In each case, indirection is identified as a means of minimizing potential conflict. Although Hammond does not make the point explicitly, it seems clear that the potential conflict results from inconsistency between "primary" and "secondary" expectations.

The original piece by Thompson and Tuden contains a penetrating and elegant analysis of strategies of organizational decision and associated structures. Their models not only incorporate much of the best in the traditional literature, but clarify interrelationships and provide means for analyzing mixed strategies and structures.—LEIGHTON VAN NORT

The Changing Soviet School. Edited by GEORGE Z. F. BEREDAY, WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, and GERALD READ, with the assistance of INA SCHLESINGER. The Comparative Education Society Field Study in the U.S.S.R. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960. xvii, 514 pp. \$3.50, paper; \$4.50, cloth.

Here is an astonishingly good inside view of Soviet education, expertly compiled by George Bereday and his associates from the notes of some 70(!) members of the Comparative Education Society who spent a month in the U.S.S.R. in 1958, interviewing educational authorities and observing schools and students. Several chapters of historical background and a description of the contemporary Soviet educational enterprise are followed by topical treatments of everything from school administration to the education of the handicapped. The book is full of solid information and intelligent evaluation. It is a refreshingly authoritative document on a subject about which much nonsense has been written. Anyone interested in

the Soviet Union, comparative education, or schools, will want to consult it. The addition of some well chosen photographs brightens an already fine text.—A. H. K.

15 to 18: A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England). By MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. Vol. 1, Report. New York: British Information Services, 1959. xxi, 519 pp. \$2.36, paper.

The Education Act of 1944 in England brought about extensive and significant changes, but it was written in such a way as to leave several aspects of the new system of secondary schools to be implemented in the future after due study and consideration.

This book, a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, deals primarily with two of these postponed stipulations: changing the school leaving age from 15 to 16 (four-fifths now leave school before they are sixteen); and the establishment of a system of "county colleges" in which part-time attendance until the age of 18 would be required of those not in some other school. The implications of these changes are examined in relation to shifting social and economic needs as well as the needs of the youths themselves. On the basis of data from three empirical studies and oral and written testimony from 179 associations and individuals, the Council recommends that the period of compulsory full-time school attendance be raised to 15 between 1966 and 1968, and that compulsory part-time day education in the county colleges—most of which do not yet exist—should be brought into force in the 1970s.—JOEL B. MONTAGUE

The Social Ideas of American Educators: Re-issue with New Chapter on the Last Twenty-Five Years. By MERLE CURTI. Paterson, N. J.: Pageant Books, 1959. xlii, 613 pp. \$4.95.

The first edition of this book has held an honored place in the library of serious students of education as a social enterprise in America since its publication in 1935. The 1959 edition is a reprint, from preface through bibliographical notes, except for a single chapter on "The Last Twenty-Five Years."

The original chapters are quite as solid American social history as they were in the mid-thirties, and still stand as a firm base for enlightened debate on contemporary issues in education. They have been too long out of print and it is good to see them made available now to a new generation, in and out of school, deeply concerned with schooling as both cause and effect in our culture.

The new chapter, however, is a different matter. A reading of the 20 pages given to the complex developments in educational policy, the impact on education of the common man and Senator McCarthy, religion and psychology, Sputnik, and the Supreme Court leaves one uncomfortable in mind. Does the recent past, especially in this day of supersonic change, lend itself to the bold sketch, however deft the strokes? In an effort to abstract the essence, for example, of the complex topic of conformity, is the topic simplified to the point of distortion? Is the reader who meets the current diversity of meanings attached to equality of opportunity only in Mr. Curti's paragraph in some danger of thinking that he has here encountered not only the latest but the last word on the subject? The instructor who assigns this book to undergraduates should issue a *caveat* on the new chapter and stress the greater contribution to scholarship made by the reprinted bulk of the volume.—CLIFFORD R. BRAGDON

Education for Child Rearing. By ORVILLE G. BRIM, JR., New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959. ix, 362 pp. \$5.00.

Orville G. Brim, Jr., has done an excellent job of analyzing parent education in this publication. In addition to a good descriptive analysis of what parent educators do and for whom, he provides the parent educator with a theoretical framework and a review of social science findings on parenting, child-rearing, and family life in the U.S.A. Even those who are not interested in parent education may be very interested in the thorough analytic review of child rearing practices and ideals and the data upon which they are based. Others might be interested in the analysis of a "social movement."

To this reviewer, the most important contribution of this volume is that it sets a standard for what has been called "professional science"—that is, the formulation of scientific results for applied purposes. To many academic and researching social scientists, converting scientific results to useful purposes appears simple. However, there are many filters through which scientific results must pass before the professional—parent educator, teacher, social worker, or nurse—can use them. In a sense Brim analyzes what these filters are and how they operate. And he can be constructively critical of what happens in this conversion process.

The author's lucid style reflects a sympathetic but rigorous approach to a broad spectrum of data and a wide variety of activities.

Professionals in all phases of health education will have to read this book.—MARTIN B. LOEB

Studying the Effects of College Education: A Methodical Examination of Changing Values in College. By ALLEN H. BARTON. Foreword by PAUL F. LAZARSFIELD. New Haven, Conn.: Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1959. 96 pp. No price indicated, paper.

Phillip E. Jacob's *Changing Values in College* claimed to evaluate research on what college students think, "to discover what happens to [their] values...." The Hazen Foundation, which supported the Jacob Report, subsequently commissioned Allen H. Barton to evaluate the evaluation. The result is the present volume.

Jacob found that colleges do not "liberalize" thinking; they affect neither "capacity to think critically" nor "intellectual independence;" students are "self-centered" with weak "philosophical commitment;" changes occur only in "superficial attitudes," not "values." These lovely words were used journalistically.

Barton, unlike Jacob, systematically maps the concepts, defines their indicators, and devises tests of Jacob's generalizations (often demonstrating opposite results with the very data Jacob had "evaluated"). Indeed, Barton's volume stands as a model for testing evidence and research design. That Jacob's intelligence, scholarliness, and insight were considered sufficient substitutes for the skills required to analyze and evaluate sociological research is a biting commentary on sociology today, when the Jacobs, alas, far outnumber the Bartons.

—ROSE K. GOLDSMITH

Liberal Education and Nursing. By CHARLES H. RUSSELL. Published for the Institute of Higher Education. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959. viii, 152 pp. \$3.00, paper.

A series of studies financed by the Carnegie Corporation has been addressed to the question of how much liberal education should be included in undergraduate professional programs. This monograph—the first of eight on specific professions—is a well written synopsis of the opinions of educators and administrators, who, along with the author, endorse the goal of the "broadly trained nurse." What they desire, Mr. Russell points out, is not really "liberal education," but an expanded definition

of professional competence based on heightened self awareness and skill in interpersonal relations.

On the whole, too much attention is paid in the monograph to the pronouncements of professors and deans, and too little to the description and analysis of the changing work context of the nurse: the upgrading of duties and responsibilities; the power and prestige structure of the hospital.—ARNOLD LEVINE

On the Threshold of Delinquency. By JOHN BARRON MAYS. Preface by T. S. SIMEY. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1959. x, 243 pp. 25s.

This is a report on an experiment in the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency in a boys' club under settlement house sponsorship in a high delinquency area in Liverpool. The distinctive emphasis of this experiment was the sustained attempt, on the part of a single agency, to make use simultaneously of modern group work techniques, individual casework, and social work with families. The author's conclusions are hopeful but modest: "There is good reason to believe that some of the delinquents became less delinquent during their club career," and that "The Dolphin [Club] methods worked with a sufficient number of delinquent or disturbed boys to suggest that its techniques could usefully be repeated elsewhere." On the other hand, I do not think that the author would quarrel with my inference from the same data that this method is not likely to make any very substantial dent in the delinquency of high rate areas.

The book, however, is much more than a statistical summing-up. Possibly its chief value is the rich and sociologically perceptive description of the boys, their families, the "sub-sub-culture" from which they come, and the day-to-day tasks of dealing with boys and families, for it is here that we get some sense of the nature and weight of the forces that the leader of the group is trying to manipulate or counteract. We get a sense of the overwhelming "externality and constraint" exercised by the social and cultural milieu over measures that are directed at specific individuals or small groups of individuals rather than at creating fundamental changes in that milieu itself. I especially recommend the chapter entitled "The Subcultural Background" to all students of juvenile delinquency.—ALBERT K. COHEN

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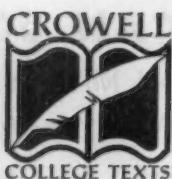
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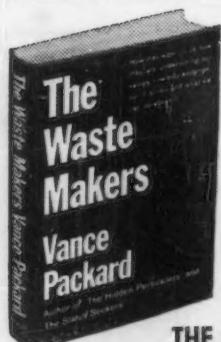
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